Vol. VIII., No. 32 *December, 1919*

STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

OF

Letters Philosophy & Science

I.	THE NEW GERMAN CONSTITUTION	MICHAEL CRONIN
II.	GIBBON AND JULIAN THE APOSTATE	HILAIRE BELLOC
III.	THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS OF A CENTURY AGO ...	JOHN M. O'SULLIVAN
IV.	ANDRE LAFON: POET AND NOVELIST ...	...VIRGINIA M. CRAWFORD
V.	THE IRISH CLIMATE AND TILLAGE FARMING ...	T. WIBBERLEY
VI.	LAW AND ORDER IN IRELAND	ERSKINE CHILDERS
VII.	POETRY—IN MY IRISH GARDEN	EGBERT SANDFORD
	MY MOTHERLAND	T. GAVAN DUFFY
	THE CALL	PETER McBRIEN
	THE HORSEMEN OF AILEACH	ARTHUR LITTLE
VIII.	UNPUBLISHED IRISH POEMS—NO. 8	OSBORN BERGIN
IX.	WHAT IS THE MATTER WITH INDIA?	T. GAVAN DUFFY
X.	SPIRITUALISM AND ITS DANGERS—PART II. ...	HERBERT THURSTON
XI.	THE IRISH LAW OF DYNASTIC SUCCESSION—PART II.	EOIN MacNEILL
XII.	CHRONICLE—I. IRISH HISTORY FROM WITHIN ...	ARTHUR E. CLERY
	II. IRISH FICTION FOR BOYS—PART III.	STEPHEN J. BROWN
XIII.	REVIEWS OF BOOKS.	

Dublin—The Educational Company of Ireland, Limited
London and St. Louis—B. Herder
Melbourne—William P. Linehan

Price (United Kingdom) 2/6 net *Annual Subscription 10/- post free*
(Foreign Countries) 3/- net *12/-*
(U.S.A. & Canada) 75 cents net. *$3.00*

Selection of Religious Publications.

THE LITTLE BOOK OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION. Crown 16mo, 3½ in. x 5 in.; 150 pp.; cloth, 1/-; leather, 2/- net.

THE LITTLE OFFICE OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION. 32mo; paper, 1d.

AROUND THE CRIB. Meditations for Christmastide. Adapted from the Italian of Father GIUSEPPE REBAUDENGO. Crown 16mo, 3½ in. x 5 in.; cloth, 1/-; leather, 2/-.

SOME IRISH VINCENTIANS IN CHINA in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries. By the Rev. PATRICK BOYLE, C.M. Price, 1/-.

UNDER THE CEDARS AND STARS. By Very Rev. P. A. Canon SHEEHAN, D.D. Crown 8vo; cloth, 3/6 net.

MEMOIR OF THE VENERABLE OLIVER PLUNKETT, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland, who suffered death for the Catholic Faith in the year 1681. By His Eminence Cardinal MORAN. Crown 8vo; cloth extra, 6/-.

MARY AIKENHEAD: Her Life, Her Work, and Her Friends. With Preface by Most Rev. N. DONNELLY, D.D. Third Edition. Illustrated. 10/6 net.

BROWNE & NOLAN, Ltd., Publishers, 41 & 42 Nassau Street, Dublin.

A. THOM & CO., LIMITED,

SEALY, BRYERS & WALKER,
HUMPHREY & ARMOUR,
SULLIVAN BROTHERS,

Printers, Stationers, and Educational Publishers.

"Studies" is Printed and Bound by us and is a Specimen of our .: Magazine Work. ::

8 & 9 CROW STREET AND 20 & 21 TEMPLE LANE, DUBLIN.

PIGOTT & CO., Limited.

Sole Agents for the Celebrated Pianos by
BROADWOOD, CHAPPELL, CHALLEN, ALLISON, BROOKLYN, PAYNE.

For Cash, Hire or Purchase. :: Write for Price List.

112 Grafton Street, Dublin.

SIOPA NA LEABAR NGAEDEALAC.

THE IRISH BOOK SHOP,

45 DAWSON STREET, DUBLIN.

PLEASE WRITE FOR CATALOGUE OF BOOKS ON IRELAND AND OF IRISH INTEREST.

PART I.—WORKS IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

An t-aon siopa amain i mBaile-ata-Cliat gur éigin do gac duine san oifig eolas a beit aige ar teangain na nGaedeal.

NOW READY.

THE DRIFT TO REVOLUTION.

The Spirit of the Industrial Era. The Romance of Machine Production. Enter, the Liberals and Radicals. The Money-spinners and their Deity. The Prophet of Socialism. The Imperialists and their **Kultur**. The People: Their Housing and Education. That Great Leviathan. The duel of Anarchist and Financier. War, Revolution—or Eutopia.

Price, 1/-. Post Free, 1/1.

FORMING No. 9 OF PAPERS FOR THE PRESENT.

Published for the Cities Committee of the Sociological Society by

HEADLEY BROS., Publishers, Ltd., 72, Oxford Street, W. 1.

"Irish Messenger" Publications.

The "**IRISH MESSENGER**" pamphlets, some 300 in number, include three penny magazines:—1. The "**Messenger**" itself (monthly). 2. "**The Madonna,**" a quarterly magazine devoted to the interests of the Blessed Virgin. 3. The "**Gaelic Messenger,**" a quarterly religious magazine in the Irish language.

The following are the four last pamphlets of the "**Social Action**" **Series**:—No. 24, "**Social Reconstruction,**" by American Bishops; No. 25, "**The Future of Labour,**" by Rev. J. Kelleher, S.T.L.; No. 26, "**Rural Secondary Schools,**" by Rev. E. Cahill, S.J.; No. 27, "**The Reasonable Limits of State Activity,**" by his Eminence, Cardinal O'Connell.

"IRISH MESSENGER" OFFICE, DUBLIN.

Maynooth Mission to China.

THIS Irish Mission to China has its College at Dalgan Park, Galway. 300 Students have applied for admission to the College, but we have been obliged to refuse them for want of accommodation. With the greatest difficulty and inconvenience we have provided room for 42 students. We are forced to extend our living space very considerably, and we rely on the Catholic people to assist us. We depend altogether on their charity.

HOW CAN YOU ASSIST?

The best ways for you and for the Mission to China are:

1. Become Promoters of the Irish Mission League;
2. Get and read "THE FAR EAST," our monthly magazine.

Write immediately for all particulars to—

Rev. JOHN BLOWICK,
St. Columban's College,
DALGAN PARK, GALWAY.

By assisting in this work you obtain the following advantages—

1. You get the Apostolic Blessing of Our Holy Father the Pope;
2. You share in 1,500 Masses every year;
3. Mass is offered every morning at St. Columban's for your intentions;
4. Solemn Requiem Mass is offered each year on the 2nd of November, for all deceased benefactors of the Mission;
5. The Office for the dead is said once a month for all deceased benefactors;
6. Special public Prayers are said each day for you.

Write for Particulars and Information at once.

YOUR AID IS URGENTLY NEEDED.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION FOR IRELAND.

Irish Training School of Domestic Economy.

This is a residential institution maintained by the Department for the purpose of training teachers of domestic economy for service under local schemes of technical instruction in Ireland, and also for providing a training in household management suitable for girls having charge of their own homes or desirous of qualifying for positions such as hotel manageresses, matrons of large institutions, etc.

The school stands in grounds of about three acres in one of the finest situations in South County Dublin, about 1½ miles from Blackrock.

The fee of £20 per session (about 40 weeks) covers tuition, board and residence. The complete course extends over three sessions.

Applicants for admission to the school must be not less than 18 years of age upon entrance, and are required to pass an entrance examination in English, a modern language, arithmetic, cookery and needlework. A pass in the Middle Grade Examination of the Intermediate Education Board is accepted in lieu of the examination in the three first-mentioned subjects.

The next examination for entrance will be held in June, 1920. Intending candidates would do well to arrange now to follow a course of study in domestic economy, etc., in preparation for the entrance examination. The number of students that can be admitted to the school is strictly limited, and competition for admission is always very keen.

The Teacher's Diploma of the Irish Training School of Domestic Economy opens up a career for capable girls, there being a steady demand for Instructors with such qualifications for work under Technical Instruction Committees and in schools specialising in the subject. The work is varied and interesting, and good salaries are paid.

Further particulars are given in the Programme of the School, copies of which may be obtained free from the Secretary, Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, Upper Merrion Street, Dublin.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, CORK

(A Constituent College of the National University of Ireland).

Full Courses for Degrees and Diplomas in

Arts, Celtic Studies, Science, Medicine, Dentistry, Engineering, Commerce, Agriculture, Law, Education, Journalism, Music.

Full particulars as to the Conditions and cost of obtaining these Degrees and Diplomas, with all other information as to the College, its facilities and Scholarships, may be obtained on application to THE REGISTRAR.

The College has a number of valuable SCHOLARSHIPS, full particulars as to which can be obtained gratis, on application to THE REGISTRAR at the College.

The HONAN HOSTEL provides for Catholic Men Students. For Terms apply to THE WARDEN.

A List of recognised Lodgings, approved by the President and the Deans of Residence, is available for the use of parents and guardians.

The College has playing grounds 15 acres in extent, available for all kinds of games.

THE

PATRIOTIC Assurance Company, Ltd.

FIRE, ACCIDENT, WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION & BURGLARY.

Registered and Head Office: 9 College Green, DUBLIN.

CAPITAL FULLY PAID £100,000.

DIRECTORS—

JOHN MOONEY, C.V.O., D.L., J.P., Chairman. | PHILIP H. GRIERSON, Esq.
LAURENCE W. MARTIN, Esq. | JOHN SINCLAIR, Esq. (Belfast).
SIR THOMAS HENRY GRATTAN ESMONDE, Bart.

Low Rates of Premium and prompt and liberal Settlement of Claims.
The position of the Company is amply secured independent of Capital.

PROPOSAL FORM AND ALL INFORMATION ON APPLICATION TO COMPANY'S AGENTS, OR TO **STUART C. SMITH, Manager & Secretary.**

THE HIBERNIAN FIRE :: AND GENERAL INSURANCE COMPANY, LIMITED :: ::

HEAD OFFICES: 48 & 49 Dame St., Dublin.
BRANCHES: Dundalk, Belfast, Derry, Cork.

Policies issued cover **Fire, Fidelity Guarantee, Burglary, Third Party,** and :: :: ::

Employers' Liability Risks.

HERDER'S NEW BOOKS.

A MANUAL OF THE HISTORY OF DOGMAS.

By the Rev. B. J. OTTEN, S.J. Vol. I.—THE PATRISTIC AGE (100-869); 8vo; 9/6 net. Vol. II.—THE MIDDLE AGES AND AFTER (869-1907); 8vo; 10/6 net.

(Complete in Two Volumes.)

A HANDBOOK OF MORAL THEOLOGY.

By the Rev. A. KOCH, D.D. Edited by A. PREUSS. Vol. I.—GENERAL INTRODUCTION; 8vo; 7/- net. Vol. II.—SIN AND THE MEANS OF GRACE; 8vo; 7/- net.

(To be completed in Five Volumes.)

A COMMENTARY ON THE NEW CANON LAW.

By Dom. P. C. AUGUSTINE, O.S.B., D.D. Vol. I.—INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL RULES (Can. 1-86); 8vo; 6/- net. Vol. II.—CLERGY AND HIERARCHY (Can. 87-486); 8vo; 10/6 net.

(To be completed in about Six Volumes.)

THE STORY OF ST. PATRICK'S PURGATORY.

By SHANE LESLIE; 8vo; 2/6 net.

B. HERDER, PUBLISHER TO THE HOLY APOSTOLIC SEE.
68 GT. RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, W.C.1.

MAUNSEL'S

NEW IRISH NOVELS.

"*The most noteworthy Irish novel of recent years.*"—*Irish Statesman.*

THE GAEL. By EDWARD E. LYSAGHT. Crown 8vo. 6s. 6d. net.

This is a first novel by an author about whose previous book, "Irish Eclogues," *The Times Literary Supplement* said, "We hope Mr. Lysaght will go on writing Poetry in English, we want to be able to read his next book."

The *Irish Statesman* says: "Mr. Lysaght does in this novel . . . something of that which we thought Canon Hannay might do. . . . A good picture of the rural community as we have it in Ireland and of its relation to the whole nation. The book takes Ireland for granted. . . it is written from the inside with the dispassionate observation of an outsider and the understanding of a lover."

THE CLANKING OF CHAINS. By BRINSLEY MACNAMARA. Crown 8vo. 6s. 6d. net. (ready shortly).

A new novel by the Author of "The Valley of the Squinting Windows," dealing with the effect of the spread of *Sinn Fein* on an individual and on the countryside. The author's first book has received several most enthusiastic notices in the American Press, such as this from the *Boston Transcript*—"His talent is a new force to be reckoned with . . it will be worth while to watch for the name of Macnamara upon forthcoming novels."

WHEN THE NORMAN CAME. A historical romance. By MICHAEL O'HANRAHAN (Author of "A Swordsman of the Brigade."). Illustrated by JACK MORROW. 5s. net.

Thomas McDonagh said of the Author's previous book: "It is a Gaelic novel in English. It has comparatively no Anglicising influence. It is addressed solely to the Irish People."

WHEN WE WERE BOYS. By WILLIAM O'BRIEN. With a new Introduction dealing with the difficulties of Irish Authors. Price 1s. 6d. net.

CARDINAL MANNING ON "WHEN WE WERE BOYS."

"The humour and brightness and the fertility of it are very great, and I can hardly lay the book down. . . . I am finishing William O'Brien's book with delight. It will do immense good: provoking great wrath and great love for Ireland."

NEW EDITION OF SYNGE'S WORKS.

2 Vols. now ready.

Vol. I. **PLAYS,** a Complete Collection. 6s. 6d. net.

Vol. II. **IN WICKLOW, WEST KERRY AND CONNEMARA.** 5s. net.

MAUNSEL & CO., Ltd., 50 Lower Baggot Street, DUBLIN.
40 Museum Street, LONDON.

NEW BOOKS.

THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF IRELAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By GEORGE O'BRIEN, Litt.D. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

". . . Good craftsmanship, clear statements of fact verified by references, dispassionate summing up and careful indexing. On all these qualities in his book is Dr. O'Brien to be congratulated."—*New Witness.*

"The underlying thesis—always temperately stated—of Dr. O'Brien's history is that the interference of the English Parliament in the affairs of Ireland was the cause of the economic misery of that country."—*The Times Literary Supplement.*

"Mr. O'Brien's book is the first detached study of a period whose historians have hitherto been, without exception, furious and uncompromising partizans. In addition to the judicial temperament, he has the true investigator's scorn for secondhand facts, and his conclusions are based on materials drawn from contemporary sources. Mr. O'Brien handles his theme soberly and without bias; and his calm, unflinching analysis and his devotion to the best traditions of scholarship make this volume a memorable contribution to Irish economic literature."—*The Nation.*

ULSTER AND IRELAND. By JAMES WINDER GOOD. 6s. net.

"Apart from fiction and poetry, *there is only one good book about Ulster. This is it. Mr. Good has written a book so excellent that it may well alter the course of Politics in these Islands.* He sets before us the realities of what is called the Ulster question as they are not to be found anywhere else in political literature. . . . Every elector, as well as every Member of Parliament, should read this remarkable book."—*Daily News.*

IRELAND IN FICTION. A Guide to Irish Novels, Tales, Romances and Folk-lore. A new edition. By STEPHEN J. BROWN, S.J. 10s. 6d. net.

"A well-nigh exhaustive work of reference on its subject, a monument of the writer's devotion and industry, and a tribute to the strong historical imagination of Irish readers."—*The Athenaeum.*

"The whole volume, with its excellent and complete indexes, should be an invaluable addition to every Irishman's library."—*Irish Times.*

THE MAN CALLED PEARSE. By DESMOND RYAN. A Biography and Appreciation of the Life and Work of P. H. Pearse. 4s. 6d. net.

"The present volume may be regarded as the most authoritative account which has yet appeared of a man who influenced his times in no small degree. It is certain to call for the notice of future historians."—*New Witness.*

"Mr. Desmond Ryan has made a valuable contribution to the history of our times."—*Irish Independent.*

LINKS BETWEEN IRELAND AND SHAKESPEARE. By SIR D. PLUNKET BARTON, Bart. 5s. net.

"The amount of Irish lore that is contained in the plays is surprisingly large when it is systematically examined, as it is in this learned and interesting book. . . . It is a solid contribution to Shakespearian study."—*The Times Literary Supplement.*

DUBLIN ESSAYS. By A. E. CLERY. 4s. 6d. net.

"Mr. Clery has a very keen sense of 'how things stand' in Ireland; for instance, his essay 'The Religious Angle in Ireland,' is an admirably precise and truthful statement of the 'Protestant and Catholic Question' as it affects our everyday life and our politics."—*Irish Statesman.*

"Arthur Clery is an excellent essayist."—*The Globe.*

MAD MOMENTS. Poems by EGBERT SANDFORD. 3s. net.

"Delicate, exquisite little pieces—a heart which feels a familiar intimacy with the divine."—*Times Literary Supplement.*

MAUNSEL & CO., Ltd., 50 Lower Baggot Street, DUBLIN.
40 Museum Street, LONDON.

New : Talbot : Press

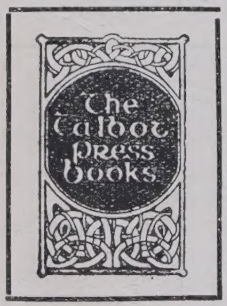
New Fiction.

PIRATES OF THE SPRING. A Novel. By FORREST REID. Crown 8vo, cloth. 7/- net.

Mr. FORREST REID is one of those careful craftsmen who are not convinced of the absolute necessity of producing one or two full-length novels every year. Mr. Reid has always an interesting story to tell, and he is a master of style, tender and sensitive, yet powerfully effective. *Pirates of the Spring* is a fine example of Mr. Reid's work which will certainly enhance his literary reputation amongst discriminating readers who appreciate a good story well told.

BY STRANGE PATHS. A Novel. By ANNIE M. P. SMITHSON. Crown 8vo, cloth. 6/- net.

Miss Smithson's former novel, *Her Irish Heritage*, achieved a success seldom accorded to first ventures, and *By Strange Paths* is certain to be equally popular. Miss Smithson is a nurse by profession, and her pictures of the unseen side of hospital life are drawn with the sure touch of knowledge and experience. Her characters are familiar because they are real, and the human notes of gladness and sadness run through the story as "a melody in tune."



TOWARDS THE DAWN. A Novel. By CONOR GALWAY. Extra cr. 8vo, cloth. 6/9 net.

Intensely national, and at the same time a novel of strong human interest, this first work of a new Irish writer should attract a wide public.

FAREWELL TO GARRYMORE. By M. A. RATHKYLE. Crown 8vo, cloth. 3/6 net.

This charming story, pervaded by the old-world spirit of Celtic wonder and mysticism, appeals at the same time by its consummate realism in the portrayal of rural Irish types.

TALES THAT WERE TOLD. By SEUMAS MACMANUS. Crown 8vo, cloth. 6/- net.

These are stories that are truly different, real Irish folk tales, with the scent of the turf smoke still on them, and qualities of humanness, fancy and humour which make them of irresistible appeal.

"Stories by Seumas MacManus are generally remarkable for their drollery. His present collection is probably the drollest. —*Irish Independent.*

IN THE DOCTOR'S DEN. By NICHOLAS HAYES. Cr. 8vo, coloured boards. 1/6 net.

"To all whose taste for a breezy tale breezily told is yet unspoiled. . . . this book will be a tonic."—*Irish Independent.*

N

THE WHALE AN
SEUMAS O'BRIEN.
JOHN KEATING, A

"As something with usual dash of wit we c

THE GOLDEN BAR
By SEUMAS O'KE

The Weaver's Gr which persists in haun tion."—*Times Literary*

EIGHT SHORT
SON. Crown 8vo.

That Mr. Lennox R is evident from the s lected. Mystery, real these *Eight Short Stori* tions of Irish tales.

Poetr

ULSTER FOLK
PADRIC GREGORY.

A new sheaf of song talent is again reveal

CORK'S OWN
Crown 8vo, wrapp

Songs of Cork, by o those powers of fancy of *The Glamour of Du*

FRAGMENTS.
cloth. 4/6 net.

The verses of this r real thought and emot

THE LABOUR L
By DANIEL CORK

These plays show th and should enhance h him as a novelist and

RED OWEN: A
O'BYRNE. 2/- ne

"No Irish prose play of writing. . . . It is, w . . . It will be prized power and its magnifice

THE : TALBOT : PRESS : LIMITED

[Advertisement by the Talbot Press Limited Dublin.]

Announcements Autumn 1919

The Talbot Press Booklets.

LATEST ADDITIONS.

THE SPOILED BUDDHA. An Eastern Play in two acts. By HELEN WADDELL. Paper covers. 1/- net.

The play is about the Buddha, in the days before he became a god; and about Binzuru, who was his favourite disciple, and who might have become even as the Buddha, only that he saw a woman passing by and desired her beauty, and so fell from grace.

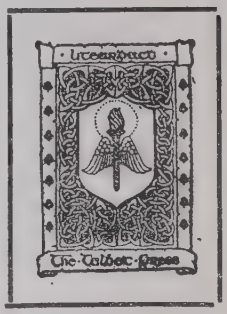
SONGS OF THE ISLAND QUEEN. By PEADAR MACTOMAIS. Paper covers. 1/- net.

"Those are songs of a dreamer of Eire,
A scion of a race that is old."

Talbot Literary Studies.

IRISH BOOKS AND IRISH PEOPLE. By STEPHEN GWYNN. Impl. 16mo, cloth. 5/- net.

"There is an urbanity of mind displayed in these graceful and felicitous essays which is not commonly to be found in contemporary Irish writings."—*The Observer.*



ESSAYS ON POETRY. By Rev. GEORGE O'NEILL, S.J. Imp. 16mo, cloth. 5/- net.

The author's name is a guarantee of the quality of the criticism expressed in this volume, which ranges from Aubrey de Vere to Gerard Hopkins.

Miscellaneous.

THE GLAMOUR OF CORK. By D. L. KELLEHER, author of *The Glamour of Dublin.* Sl. 8vo. 2/6 net.

A companion volume to the same writer's successful book of Dublin vignettes.

A SECOND CHRONICLE OF JAILS. By DARRELL FIGGIS. Crown 8vo, wrappers. 1/6 net.

Resumes the narrative of Mr. Figgis's political adventures.

THE MAKING OF A REPUBLIC. By KEVIN R. O'SHIEL. 3/6 net.

An Irish Republican's vivid history of America's struggle for Independence.

SAINT COLUMBA: The Story of His Life. By A. B. OCHILTREE FERGUSON. 2/6 net.

Miss Ferguson's gift of popular historical writing is well illustrated in this attractive narrative of the life and adventures of St. Columcille.

THE CATHOLIC WORLD

FIFTY-FOURTH YEAR.

The Oldest Catholic Magazine in the United States.

ESTABLISHED APRIL, 1865.

Catholic thought on the living questions of the day finds its best expression in THE CATHOLIC WORLD.

The Leading Writers of America contribute to its pages.

Every issue commands the attention of the literary world and merits the careful reading of every thoughtful Catholic.

Something is lacking in the Catholic home which does not receive THE CATHOLIC WORLD.

His Holiness, Pope Benedict XV., has but lately honoured THE CATHOLIC WORLD by this special praise:

> "It has, during fifty-three years of uninterrupted labour, accomplished a noble and holy apostolate in defence of the Church and of Christian civilization."

A line or two of very recent comment will further show its value:

> "For infinite variety and value the contents of THE CATHOLIC WORLD are second to none. . . . . The excellent judgment of its editors can always be safely depended upon to present contributions of intense interest and profit."—*Boston Pilot*, April 7, 1917.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION: THREE DOLLARS.

THE CATHOLIC WORLD,

120-122 WEST 60th STREET, NEW YORK.

Readers of "STUDIES" are especially invited to send for a Free Sample Copy.

MARTIN LESTER'S NEW BOOKS

FICTION.

THE WASTED ISLAND. By EIMAR O'DUFFY. Crown 8vo, 450 pp. Cloth boards. Picture wrapper. 6/- net.

THE GREEN COCKADE. By MRS. M. T. PENDER. Crown 8vo. 390 pp. Cloth boards. Picture wrapper. 6/- net.

MARRIED IN MAY. By MRS. M. T. PENDER. Crown 8vo. 200 pp. Stiff boards. Picture wrapper. 3/6 net.

THE EAGLE OF GARRYROE. By C. J. KICKHAM. Crown 8vo. 200 pp. Stiff boards. Picture wrapper. 3/6 net.

THE LEPRECHAUN OF KILMEEN. By SEUMAS O'KELLY. Crown 8vo. 140 pp. Stiff boards. Picture wrapper. 2s. 6d. net.

EDUCATION.

EDUCATION IN A FREE IRELAND. By MICHAEL TIERNEY, M.A. Crown 8vo. 100 pp. Stiff boards. 3/6 net.

ECONOMICS.

AN IRISH COMMUNE. The History of Ralahine. Adapted from the Narrative of E. T. Craig, with an Introduction by GEORGE RUSSELL ("Æ"). Crown 8vo. 160 pp. Stiff boards. 5/- net.

POLITICS.

THE LIFE OF WOLFE TONE, together with extracts from his political writings. Written by himself and completed by his son. Crown 8vo. 150 pp. Wrappers. 2/6 net.

THE LETTERS OF WOLFE TONE, together with letters written by his wife and brothers. Crown 8vo. 150 pp. Wrappers, 2/6 net.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SINN FEIN. By J. R. WHITE. Crown 8vo. Wrappers, 1/- net.

PLAYS.

THE DAUGHTER OF DONAGH. A Drama in Four Acts by ALICE L. MILLIGAN. Demy 8vo. Stiff boards, 5/- net.

BRICRIU'S FEAST. A Comedy in Three Acts, with an Epilogue, by EIMAR O'DUFFY. Demy 8vo. 52 pp. Wrappers, 2/- net.

POETRY.

A COLLEGE CHORUS. A Collection of Humorous Verses. By STUDENTS OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN. Demy 8vo. 52 pp. Wrappers, 2/- net.

DAYS AND DESTINIES. By PEADAR MAC TOMAIS. Demy 8vo. 42 pp. Wrappers, 1/6 net.

POEMS by MARY FRANCES MCHUGH. Demy 8vo. 24 pp. Wrappers. 1/6 net.

MARTIN LESTER, Ltd., 44 Dawson Street, DUBLIN.

THE CATHOLIC CHARITIES REVIEW

A Monthly Magazine which Discusses the Facts, Problems and Methods of Charity and Related Social Questions . . .

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION: FIVE SHILLINGS.

Rev. JOHN A. RYAN, D.D., LL.D., Editor and Manager,
The Catholic University of America,
WASHINGTON, D.C., U.S.A.

NEW S. P. C. K. BOOKS.

Translations of Christian Literature.

A Series of Translations from the Literature of all ages of the Church.

SERIES I. GREEK TEXTS:

THE APOCRITICUS OF MACARIUS MAGNES.

By T. W. CRAFER, D.D. 7s. 6d. net.

THE EPISTLES OF ST. IGNATIUS, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH.

(Re-issue). By the Ven. J. H. SRAWLEY, D.D., Archdeacon of Wisbech. 4s. net.

Handbooks of Christian Literature.

THE LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE.

By W. J. SPARROW-SIMPSON, D.D. 10s. net.

Texts for Students.

General Editors: CAROLINE A. J. SKEEL, D.Lit.; H. J. WHITE, D.D.; J. P. WHITNEY, D.D., D.C.L.

No. 10. THE EPISTLES OF ST. IGNATIUS.

Edited by T. W. CRAFER, D.D. 1s. net.

No. 11. CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

By H. P. V. NUNN, M.A. With two Illustrations. 1s. net.

Translations of Early Documents.

A Series of Texts important for the study of Christian origins.
Under the joint editorship of the Rev. W. O. E. OESTERLEY, D.D., and the Rev. Canon G. H. BOX, M.A.

THE SAYINGS OF THE JEWISH FATHERS (PIRKE ABOTH).

Translated from the Hebrew by W. O. E. OESTERLEY, D.D. 5s. net.

SELECTIONS FROM JOSEPHUS.

Translated by H. ST. J. THACKERAY, M.A. 5s. net.

THE CISTERCIANS IN YORKSHIRE.

By J. S. FLETCHER, Member of the Yorkshire Archæological Society. With seven Illustrations by WARWICK GOBLE, and a fac-simile from the *Chronicles of Meaux*. 17s. 6d. net.

THE PARISH GILDS OF MEDIÆVAL ENGLAND.

By H. F. WESTLAKE, M.A., F.S.A. Author of "St. Margaret's, Westminster." With six Illustrations. 15s. net.

THE OFFICIUM AND MIRACULA OF RICHARD ROLLE OF HAMPOLE.

Edited by REGINALD MAXWELL WOOLLEY, D.D., Rector and Vicar of Minting, and Canon of Lincoln. With three collotype Illustrations. 5s. net.

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE,

Central Offices: 6 ST. MARTIN'S PLACE, LONDON, W.C. 2.
Book Shop: 64 NEW BOND STREET, LONDON, W. 1.

And of all Booksellers.

RECONSTRUCTION IN IRELAND.

RECONSTRUCTION IN IRELAND and the Development of the Nation's Industries are impossible without up-to-date means of transport. The Motor Vehicle for passenger and goods service has come to stay. It has proved itself a reliable and economical means of conveyance, and the only thing left is to make sure of buying the right vehicle. We have years of experience in this work, and have secured Agencies for the best Petrol and Steam Vehicles. You are welcome to the benefit of our advice and experience in choosing the best car or lorry for your business. Why not write to us NOW ?

Thompson's Motor Car Co.

LIMITED,

Great Brunswick Street, DUBLIN,

And at BELFAST and CORK.

A NEW SCRIPTURAL REVIEW

Students of the Bible will be interested to learn the intended publication early next year (January 1920) of a **Quarterly Review,** entitled **Biblica**, by the Professors of the Pontifical Biblical Institute, Rome.

Scientific investigations of Biblical matters, whether in the shape of longer articles or shorter notes and studies, will form the main part of its contents.

Bibliography will receive special attention. Besides reviews of books, at greater or less length according to their importance, each number will contain a carefully compiled register of all recent scientific publications on Biblical subjects.

A **Bulletin** or critical discussion of the different views and principal publications on some question of particular importance will be an occasional feature.

There will be also a regular **Chronicle**, giving personal information about Biblical scholars and their activities, and recording recent enterprises and discoveries in the fields of exploration and excavation.

Articles in **Latin, English, French, German, Italian** and **Spanish** will be admitted in the **Review.** Longer contributions however in the modern tongues will be followed by a short summary in the offical language, **Latin.**

The average size of each number will be **128** pages, so that the yearly volume will always exceed **500** pages.

The annual subscription for Italy is **18** lire, for foreign countries **20** Italian lire.

As the object of the **Review** is, by scientific method and research and by fidelity to the teaching and mind of the Church, to promote sound scriptural doctrine, it is hoped that it will receive a cordial welcome and constant support from Biblical scholars, several of whom indeed have already promised their valuable collaboration.

All communications to be addressed to the Editor of **Biblica** (*Pontificio Istituto Biblico,* Piazza Pilotta 35, Roma 1).

Showrooms: 3 Lincoln Place, Westland Row, Dublin.

Collapsible Hoods fitted to our Tub or Tonneau Cars.

See Our New All-Weather Tonneau Car.

Gold Medal for Cars at Franco-British Exhibition.

Catalogue from Works: Edenderry, King's Co.

Alesbury Bros., Car Builders.

Two Standard Text Books of The "Wibberley" Farming System.

"FARMING ON FACTORY LINES,"

OR

Continuous Cropping for Large Farmers

BY

T. WIBBERLEY, N.D.A., N.D.D.

Second Edition. Price, **6**/- net. (Postage 4d. extra).

A new and frankly revolutionary guide to **ALL-WEATHER FARMING**, and to Cheaper Milk, Corn, and Beef Production.

The Book that has broken all Sale Records of Agricultural Text Books.

CONTINUOUS CROPPING

And Tillage Dairy Farming for Small Farmers, etc.

By T. WIBBERLEY.

Third Edition, Crown 8vo. Cloth. Price, **3**/**6** net; post free 3/10.

The Selborne Agricultural Commission recommend:

'That several farms should be run on **Continuous Cropping Lines** as Demonstration Farms."

These volumes may be obtained through any Bookseller, or direct from the Publishers,

C. Arthur Pearson, Ltd. (Dept. S.S.), Henrietta St., London, W.C. 2.

NEW DEPARTMENT FOR AMATEUR PHOTOGRAPHERS.

Cameras, Films, Plates, Papers, &c., &c.

KEOGH BROS., LTD., 75 Lower Dorset Street, 124 St. Stephen's Green.

Developing and Printing. Advice and Lists Free.

Buy "THE IMELDIST" for the Children. From all Newsagents.

VOL. VIII. No. 32.

STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

OF

Letters Philosophy & Science

DECEMBER. 1919.

CONTENTS.

		PAGE
I.	THE NEW GERMAN CONSTITUTION ... *Professor Michael Cronin, M.A., D.D.*	529
II.	GIBBON AND JULIAN THE APOSTATE ... ... *Hilaire Belloc*	544
III.	THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS OF A CENTURY AGO. *Professor John M. O'Sullivan, M.A., Ph.D.*	565
IV.	ANDRE LAFON: POET AND NOVELIST ... *Virginia M. Crawford*	580
V.	THE IRISH CLIMATE AND TILLAGE FARMING *Professor T. Wibberley, N.D.A.*	590
VI.	LAW AND ORDER IN IRELAND ... ... *Erskine Childers*	598
VII.	POETRY—IN MY IRISH GARDEN ... ... *Egbert Sandford*	607
	MY MOTHERLAND ... ... *T. Gavan Duffy*	603
	THE CALL ... ... *Peter McBrien*	60
	THE HORSEMEN OF AILEACH ... ... *Arthur Little*	610
VIII.	UNPUBLISHED IRISH POEMS—No. 8 *Professor Osborn Bergin, Ph.D.*	611
IX.	WHAT IS THE MATTER WITH INDIA? ... ... *T. Gavan Duffy*	614
X.	SPIRITUALISM AND ITS DANGERS—PART II. ... *Herbert Thurston, S.J.*	627
XI.	THE IRISH LAW OF DYNASTIC SUCCESSION—PART II. *Professor Eoin MacNeill*	639
XII.	CHRONICLE—I. IRISH HISTORY FROM WITHIN. *Professor Arthur E. Clery*	654
	II. IRISH FICTION FOR BOYS—PART III. *Stephen J. Brown, S.J.*	658
XIII.	REVIEWS OF BOOKS:	

L'Art, p. 664.—Dublin Types, p. 665.—India's Nation Builders, p. 665.—Memoir of Kenelm Digby, p. 667.—The Conquests of Charlemagne, p. 668.—The Greek Orators, p. 671.—The Octavius of Minucius Felix, p. 672.—History of Modern France, p. 674.—The Pacific: Its Past and Future, p. 676.—Peace Making at Paris, p. 678.—Moral Values and the Idea of God, p. 681.—The Intuitive Basis of Knowledge, p. 683.—Hymenaea and Other Poems, p. 685.—Twelve Poets, p. 685.—Liadain and Curithir, p. 685.—The Rhyme of the Servants of Mary, p. 687.—Soul's Belfry and Other Verses, p. 688.—World Power and Evolution, p. 689.—The Guild State, p. 691.—Guild Socialism, p. 691.—Parliament and the Taxpayer, p. 692.—Irish Essays, p. 693.—Irish Books and Irish People, p. 694.—Scottish Literature, p. 696.—Benedictine Monachism, p. 697.—Jesus and Life, p. 700.—La Conversion, p. 701.—Farming on Factory Lines, p. 703.—Books also received, p. 704.

☞ STUDIES is published in the months of March, June, September and December.

The price of single Copies is Half-a-Crown net. (Foreign Countries, 3s. net.)

The yearly subscription is Ten Shillings, post free. (Foreign Countries, 12s., post free; U.S.A. and Canada, $3.00 post free.)

The Editorial Offices of STUDIES are at No. 35 Lower Leeson Street, Dublin.

THE TEXT OF THE

WIBBERLEY GOSPEL

. . IS . .

Applied Agricultural Science.

We are doing our best in this direction, and have made arrangements with Mr. WIBBERLEY whereby we act as the SOLE DISTRIBUTING HOUSE for all the Improved and New Types of

WIBBERLEY'S CRUCIFEROUS and other **FORAGE CROP SEEDS.**

Grown under Mr. Wibberley's personal direction, and cleaned to the Famous :: :: :: :: Hunter Standard. :: :: :: ::

Write to-day for Catalogue and Hunter's Journal, No. 5, to

JAMES HUNTER, Limited,

Seed Experts,

CHESTER.

THE NEW GERMAN CONSTITUTION.

BY MICHAEL CRONIN, M.A., D.D.

Professor of Politics, University College, Dublin.

THE new constitution of Germany was passed into law on July 31, 1919, by the National Assembly at Weimar—the voting being 262 for, 75 against. It was promulgated on August 11, 1919, the signatures being those of the president of the republic (Ebert) and ten ministers. The official text is published in book form with a brief introduction by Conrad Haussmann, president of the constitution-committee of the Assembly. It is the longest of the great constitutions, dealing, as it does, not only with constitutional law proper but with other matters of public importance as well, such as religion, social relations, education. In the present article it is possible to take account only of constitutional laws in the strict sense of the word—viz., that body of laws which determines the form and structure of the state and the distribution of its powers.

The new constitution begins with a full and frank acceptance both of the form of the republican state and of its political philosophy—"The German state is a republic: political authority springs from the people." Throughout the constitution the new state is spoken of as Reich or Reichstaat. In the old constitution "Reich" signified "empire": in the new it must evidently be translated by some other word such as state, union or commonwealth. But the retention of the old terminology is curious.

Black, red and gold are the colours of the new republic; black, white and red, with the republican colours in the upper inner corner, is its flag of trade.

Opinions will be somewhat divided as to the exact political category under which to bring the new form of government. The old Germany was a federal state (Bundesstaat). Not only the empire as a whole, but each of the component parts also, had its own constitution and government, and the parts within their own sphere of action were independent of the whole. This is the very essence of the federal state—many part states making up one whole—the functions of sovereignty being divided between them. It is the form of government that obtains in Switzerland, the United States, the Argentine Republic, and Brazil. Some authors would maintain that the new Germany is not to be regarded as a federal state: it is too unified, they contend, *i.e.*, the functions of the central authorities are too wide and those of the parts too narrow to admit of its being brought under that category.[1] With this opinion, however, it is certain that few will agree. The component parts have still their own constitutions and governments, they exercise many of the powers of sovereignty independently of the central authorities: the governments of the parts are not said in the constitution to derive their powers from the central government—on the contrary Article 5 expressly states that, while the central organs exercise their authority on the basis of the federal constitution, the governments of the parts act on the authority (*Grund*) of their own constitutions. The new Germany is therefore a federal state, since the parts also are incomplete states enjoying sovereign power within the sphere of authority allotted to them in the constitution. But the whole country is

[1] In the new constitution the parts are spoken of as Länder, not as states. But they really are states in the same sense as before the war. In the present article therefore we shall speak of the government of the whole country as the central, the federal, or the national government: those of the component parts will be spoken of as state governments.

more unified and centralised than before. Its organisation is closer, and its energies are more perfectly directed to the attainment of its end—the welfare of the whole body politic.

The question of the division of functions as between the whole and the parts is of supreme importance in the case of federal states. In the new Germany the central authorities exercise just such powers as are reserved to them in the constitution—the whole residue rests with the component parts. In the legislative sphere the powers reserved to the federal authorities may be divided under four headings. First, they are given an *exclusive* right of legislation over foreign affairs, the colonies, customs, nationality, freedom of emigration, extradition, military organisation, coinage, post, telegraph, telephone : also taxes raised for the use of the federal government. Secondly, they are given *concurrent* authority with the state legislatures in connection with an immense variety of matters, comprising nearly all the ordinary subjects of legislation, such as civil and criminal law, the press, the right of association, sanitation, banking, the bourse, etc.[1] In connection with this special list of functions it is laid down that the state legislatures may act only as long and so far as the central authorities do not elect to exercise their powers. Should state and federal law be opposed in any case, the federal law prevails—*Reichsrecht bricht Landrecht.* Doubtful cases come before the federal courts. Thirdly, in certain matters the central authorities are accorded a right to prescribe *general principles* of legislation for observance by the state legislatures—for instance, religious societies, the schools, the rights of public bodies

[1] Also judicial procedure, punishment, passports, the poor, population, the rights of labour, insurance, nationalisation projects, trade, weights and measures, paper money, food transport, mining, navigation, roads common to many states of the republic, air-craft, railways, theatres and picture houses. A special article (9) extends this right of concurrent legislation to everything necessary for the public welfare and for public order and security, so far as uniformity of practice is required.

and their officials, land ownership, residence, the distribution of the population, sepulture. In a very important article this right is extended to state taxes and revenue, but only so far as is necessary for avoiding certain evils—for instance, injury to the national income, excessive road fees, double taxation, undue discrimination against imports in inter-state trade within the republic, export bounties, and in general anything affecting the economic welfare of the nation. Fourthly, the central authorities are given a right of *veto* over state legislation in certain economic matters where interference is required in the interest of the community at large—for instance, the nationalisation of the natural resources and the fixing of prices.

From this brief enumeration of the powers of the central legislature, and from what will be said later of the wide influence of the executive, it will easily be seen how unified and centralised is the new German republic in comparison with the old empire. The huge burden of debt left by the war, the loss of the German colonies, the destruction of her commerce, have made a strongly centralised government necessary if the country is to recover its old position in the commercial and political world.

The provisions of the new constitution relating to the execution of the federal laws are interesting. In the old Germany, as now in Switzerland, the federal laws were executed not by federal, but by state officials. In America, on the other hand, they are executed by federal officials. The new German constitution takes up a mean position between these two. The federal laws are to be executed by state officials[1] *unless where it is otherwise provided by the federal legislature.* The constitution does not determine how far centralisation may be resorted to in this

[1] There is one important exception. Customs and excise federal laws are carried out by federal officials (Art. 83). Apparently the direct taxes are collected by state officials only.

matter, but clearly it is not understood that the whole administration of the laws or even whole departments of administration could be put in the hands of federal officers. The spirit of the constitution is to leave the administration of these laws as far as possible under state authority. But in particular classes of cases the legislature can provide for execution by federal representatives. The central *executive* is also given certain powers. It can issue general instructions for administration[1]; and it can insist even by the use of force on the proper fulfilment of the federal laws in the various states.

We shall now say a few words on the new German Parliament. It consists, like those of Greece and Bulgaria, of one house only—the Reichstag. The old upper house known as the Bundesrat still remains, under the title of Reichsrat; but its legislative function is gone. It is now an administrative council pure and simple, though, like other executives, it is given a veto over legislation. The Reichstag is an elected chamber, chosen for four years. The franchise is *universal*, extending to all men and women over twenty years of age. It is *equal*, there being no property votes; *immediate*, election being in one stage not two; and *secret*. Its sessions are public; but on the application of fifty members, and with the consent of a two-thirds majority of the house, a private session can be secured. The Reichstag, and even its committees are empowered to demand the presence of the chancellor (a position corresponding to that of prime minister in France and England) and the other ministers at their sittings. The chancellor and other ministers have also a right, whether invited or not, to be present and to address the House. This provision would seem to show that the ministry need not belong to the House,

[1] Art. 77, however, declares that the executive issues these instructions only if the federal laws do not otherwise provide: also that, where state and not federal officials execute the laws, the instructions referred to in the text require the consent of the Reichsrat.

but there is no special article preventing them, an omission which is all the more remarkable since the president of the republic is expressly excluded from membership in the Reichstag. The component states may also send representatives to declare the views of their governments in the Reichstag. One of the most important features of the new Reichstag will be its committee for foreign affairs, with power to meet even when the Reichstag is not in session. Its discussions will be conducted in secret unless publicity is required by a two-thirds majority of the committee itself.

Next comes the executive. At its head stands the president of the republic, chosen by the whole German people. Every man of German nationality (jeder Deutsche) of over 35 years of age is eligible. The manner of his election has yet to be determined by law. He is appointed for seven years and is re-eligible. The president can be deposed by the people, but only at the instance of a two-thirds majority of the Reichstag. He cannot be a member of the Reichstag. He represents the republic, speaks in its name, has power to dissolve the Reichstag (only once, however, in the case of each particular crisis), concludes treaties and other contracts with foreign powers,[1] appoints and receives ambassadors. Treaties, the objects of which fall within the legislative domain, though concluded by the president, require the consent of the Reichstag. The president appoints, either directly or indirectly, all officers of state. He possesses the right of pardon, but national amnesties can only be accorded by a law of the federal legislature.

Articles 50-59 regulate the relations of president to ministers and of ministry to Reichstag, and are of the highest importance. They represent a completely new departure in German constitutional law, and will by most people be regarded as the most characteristic feature of

[1] Declarations of war and peace require an act of the federal legislature.

the new constitution. All ordinances of the president, even those that relate to arms, require to be countersigned by the chancellor or a minister. Responsibility rests with the countersigning authority. It was the same under the old régime, in which the chancellor bore responsibility for the acts of the Kaiser. But that responsibility was of a relatively unimportant kind: it meant merely that the Kaiser acted through the chancellor instead of in his own name. The responsibility of chancellor and ministry in the new constitution is a different thing altogether. It means not only that the chancellor and ministers act for the president, but also that they are responsible to parliament for their acts, that they require the confidence of the Reichstag, and can be dismissed by an *express* vote of want of confidence. "The chancellor and ministers," Art. 54 declares, "require the confidence of the Reichstag: should the Reichstag by express resolution proclaim its want of confidence the minister concerned must resign." The constitution also, in explaining the responsibility of the government, sets forth the relation in which the chancellor stands to his ministers. He nominates the ministers to be appointed by the president and directs their general line of policy. So long as a minister acts within this line of policy he is independent in his own sphere of authority, and is personally responsible to the Reichstag. These provisions regulating the exact relations of prime minister to the other members of a cabinet are sure to give rise to many difficulties. Who, for instance, will attempt to say where policy ends and detailed action within a policy begins. And this difficulty will be all the more felt since, as we shall show in the next paragraph, the German cabinet of the future will not be, like that of England, a party cabinet, but more probably a coalition cabinet with many lines of cleavage dividing its members.

An important question arises here as to how the chancellor is to be appointed. It is laid down in the

constitution that the chancellor is appointed by the president. We know, however, that constitutional provisions of this kind do not always amount to much in practice. In France the president is said to appoint the prime minister, and he really does so. In England, on the other hand, the monarch is supposed to select his prime minister; but he really has no discretion except to appoint whoever happens to be the leader of the successful party at the polls. The origin of this difference in French and English politics lies in the difference in the party systems obtaining in the two countries. In England up to the present the two party system has been in existence, that is, there are only two large parties controlling all the others, and therefore there is always one outstanding man who must be appointed to the premiership, otherwise the work of government could not be carried on. In France there are many large parties, and this multiplicity of parties gives the president a real discretion in the choice of his prime minister. In Germany much will depend on the form of party system that is developed. If, as seems most likely, a multi-party system arises, the president will exercise a great deal of influence; for it will be his right to choose his chancellor from among the various contending parties, and thus to a large extent to determine also the general policy of the government. In this case also the government will almost of necessity be of the coalition rather than of the single party type, since otherwise stability could not be secured.

We have spoken of the executive, *i.e.*, of the president and ministry. A few words will now be necessary on the chief council of the new executive, viz., the Reichsrat. The Reichsrat is the old Bundesrat, shorn, however, of all its legislative faculties except that of the veto. It is constituted in the same way as the old Bundesrat—*i.e.*, it represents the states and is appointed by the governments of the states.[1] Every state has a right to at

[1] It is laid down that one half of the Prussian delegation in the Reichsrat is to be appointed by the provincial administrations.

least one vote in the Reichsrat, the larger states having one vote for each million inhabitants. Remainders, if equal to the population of the smallest state, give a right to an extra vote. It is provided, however, and the provision is important, that no state shall have more than two-fifths of the total voting power of the Reichsrat. Art. 61 contains the well-known provision, to which the Allies have raised such strong objection, that if German Austria should come into the German Republic it will have its proper number of votes, and that until such amalgamation occurs German Austria will have a consultative voice in the Reichsrat. Each state is to have as many representatives as it has votes.

The Reichsrat is summoned by the government and must be summoned on the application of one-third of its members. It is presided over by a member of the government. The same holds for its committees. Members of the government have the right and, if called upon, the duty of attendance in the Reichsrat. Its sessions, unlike those of the old Bundesrat, are public—except for special occasions. What is particularly noticeable about this new body is the fact that the old system of voting on instructions from the home governments has disappeared. Under the old constitution the members of the Bundesrat voted, not according to their personal views, but on the basis of instructions received. The members therefore representing a particular government should all vote in the same way, a fact which made it possible even for a single member to record all the votes of his particular delegation. The only provision of the new constitution in regard to voting in the Reichsrat is that decisions are reached by a simple majority of the voters.[1]

We have now spoken of the three main authorities in

[1] An article of much importance is that requiring that the ministers should keep the Reichsrat informed of all government business, and that its committees should be consulted on the more important matters of administration.

the new state—the Reichstag, the chief executive, and the executive council. It remains to see how the business of the legislature is carried out, how the constitution is changed, and what is the legislative procedure in regard to financial administration.

The provisions of the constitution in the articles dealing with legislation are exceedingly complicated, and therefore the reader's closest attention will here be required at every point. Constitutions are never easy reading. That of the new Germany is the most complex and difficult that has yet appeared. A law can be introduced in the Reichstag either by the government or by a member of the house. The Reichsrat might prepare a measure; but such a measure would have to be introduced or proposed by the government. In connection with measures introduced by the government two special provisions are to be noted: first, that to propose a measure in parliament the government must look for the consent of the Reichsrat. If this consent is not forthcoming the government may still go on with its project, but must make known the opposition of the Reichsrat. Secondly, if the Reichsrat prepares a bill it is introduced by the government. Should the government not agree with the Reichsrat it must still propose the bill, at the same time explaining its own position.

Let us now suppose that a measure has been properly proposed in the Reichstag and has there been passed successfully through all its stages, it has still to overcome many obstacles before it can finally become a law of the land. These obstacles we here go on to describe. The first is the veto of the Reichsrat. The Reichsrat, the chief executive council of the nation, is given a qualified veto on legislation.[1] Should this right of veto

[1] Except laws initiated by the people, to which reference will be made later. The veto of the Reichsrat must be announced to the government within two weeks after the passing of the measure by the Reichstag, and at latest two weeks afterwards it must furnish the grounds of its opposition.

be exercised the measure is returned to the Reichstag for reconsideration. If a deadlock ensues between the two bodies, it is then that the president's high legislative powers begin to be operative. He can take either of two courses. He may either elect to do nothing at all, and then the measure is regarded as having lapsed. Or he may refer it to the people,[1] in which case its fate is decided by popular referendum. Should, however, the Reichstag have voted the law by a two-thirds majority, the discretion of the president is somewhat narrower. He cannot then by his own inaction allow the measure to lapse. In that case he must either promulgate it finally as a law,[2] or refer it to the people. This then is the first great obstacle to be overcome—the veto of the Reichsrat.

Suppose now that no opposition arises in the Reichsrat, there are still two other obstacles remaining. The first is the interposition of the president who may (if he wishes), before promulgating the law, refer it to the people[3] for their ratification. The second, strange to say, is found within the Reichstag itself. The new German constitution is not without consideration for minorities; and it has given to minorities in the Reichstag one very peculiar privilege—viz., if the minority opposed to a particular measure should amount to one-third of the Reichstag this minority has power to hold up a law by deferring promulgation of it for two months (72), unless indeed both Reichstag and Reichsrat are agreed upon its urgency, in which case the president *can* promulgate it without further ado. It may be asked what does the minority in Parliament gain by deferring promulgation in this way. Well, just this, that if within those two months

[1] Within three months from the date of passing. The regulations governing both referendum and initiative have yet to be determined by law.

[2] Within three months.

[3] Within a month. We should remark that the people cannot, under any circumstances, negative a law passed in the Reichstag unless a majority of the people entitled to vote actually record their votes.

a twentieth part of the voters call for a referendum, a referendum must be allowed (73, par. 2).

We see therefore that a referendum of the people may be used to decide the fate of any measure that has successfully passed the Reichstag in three cases: (*a*) when the Reichsrat interposes its veto; (*b*) when the president calls for a referendum; (*c*) when the minority opposed to a bill is of large dimensions. But the legislative powers of the people do not stop at this; they are given not only a right of referendum (*Volksentscheid*), but of initiative as well (*Volksbegehren*) in imitation of the Swiss system. If a tenth part of the voters draw up and present a project of law to the government, the government must hand it on to the legislature. Should the Reichstag pass it unaltered, it becomes law without further reference to the people. Otherwise, a referendum must be allowed.[1] There are, however, certain matters which lie outside the people's right of initiative in the sense that only the president can bring about a referendum in regard to them—viz., financial matters, such as the budget, taxation laws, and ordinances of expenditure. On all other matters the people can secure a referendum on their own initiative.

The German initiative presents two interesting points of contrast to that of Switzerland. The first is that the Swiss people can exercise their right of initiative either by stating their wishes in general terms, or by presenting a fully drafted measure. The German right of initiative can be exercised only in the second way. Secondly, the Swiss right of initiative extends to constitutional laws only, the German holds in the case of ordinary laws as well.

[1] Conrad Hausmann, in his introduction to the constitution, implicitly answers the obvious question: What if the Reichstag rejects it altogether? He writes: "If the Reichstag accepts the proposal, a referendum is not necessary; should the Reichstag reject it, a referendum becomes necessary" (p. xii.). From which it follows that a law may be passed without the consent of the Reichstag, a conclusion which seems not wholly consistent with the simple declaration contained in Art. 68 "Die Reichsgesetze werden vom Reichstag beschlossen."

We have now described the procedure obtaining in the case of ordinary laws. The same regulations hold in the case of changes in the constitution, but with certain modifications definitely set forth in the constitution. These modifications are, first, that for decisions of the Reichstag altering the constitution, at least two-thirds of the members must be present, and at least two-thirds of those present must vote for the change. Secondly, a decision of the Reichsrat favouring a change of constitution can only be effected by a two-thirds majority of the votes recorded. Thirdly, should a change of constitution be initiated by the people, it cannot be passed by referendum without the approval of a majority of those *entitled* to vote. Fourthly, should the Reichstag conclude a change of constitution against the veto of the Reichsrat,[1] the president must not promulgate it if the Reichsrat within two weeks calls for a referendum.

In connection with finance bills the system of English public financial administration is closely followed. Income and expenditure are calculated for one year and are so entered in the Budget. Money is voted ordinarily for one year only; in special cases it can be voted for a longer period. This represents a big departure from the old system of the septennates under which the Reichstag voted money for periods of seven years, thus rendering the government during that long period largely independent of parliamentary control. The constitution does not expressly declare that only the government can introduce financial proposals in the Reichstag; but this would seem to be an obvious conclusion from the provision occurring in Art. 85: "The Reichstag cannot, without the consent of the Reichsrat, increase an item of expenditure . . . . . or introduce a new item." The same provision obtains in the English system, and on the ground that only the government can initiate a financial proposal:

[1] We saw above how this could happen, viz., if a two-thirds majority of the Reichstag favours a measure sent back by the Reichsrat, the president can promulgate it as a law even without the referendum.

to increase a vote in the estimates, it is said, would be the same thing as initiating finance.

It may be added that the consent of the Reichsrat is required for money bills as for bills of any other kind, and that the veto of the Reichsrat in this department may be overcome in the same manner as that already described in connection with ordinary legislation.

We have chosen for discussion only those provisions in regard to legislation which mark the chief difference between the old and the new systems. What will be evident is the wholehearted acceptance of the democratic conceptions of the equality not only of individuals but of states before the law and of the sovereignty of the people. It is true that in the Reichsrat the principle of equal voting is not applied, as it is in America and Switzerland.[1] In Germany the states are represented in proportion to their population. But all the old privileges are gone, such as that which gave to Prussia a veto on proposed changes in the constitution. Even the possibility of a natural majority veto, arising through increase in the population of any state, is effectively precluded by the requirement that no state, no matter how large, shall have more than two-fifths of the total voting power of the Reichsrat. Again, we saw that the chief executive, the president, is elected by the people, and that his chancellor and ministers are responsible to an elected legislature. We saw also the immense legislative powers that now devolve directly on the people. Not only does it fall to them to decide differences between Reichstag, president, and Reichsrat, and between majorities and minorities in the Reichstag; but they can themselves initiate legislation and can secure a referendum upon their own proposals. The German revolution has in fact made a clean sweep of every institution that opposed in any way the ideal of a democratic state.

[1] Where each of the component states is represented in the upper house by two votes.

And this same ideal of a thorough-going democracy is operative in every part of the constitution, as, for instance, in the provisions dealing with the judicature and the people's rights. All judges of the ordinary courts (as opposed, for instance, to courts martial or trades courts) are appointed for life. They cannot be deprived permanently or temporarily of their positions, or moved to other districts, or retired, except by judicial sentence and on such grounds and under such forms as are determined by law. Reading this part of the constitution we notice many significant changes. The military courts are gone except for war time and on board a war vessel. Gone also are the military courts of honour and with them, let us hope, government patronage of, if not the practice of duelling. The old class distinctions have also disappeared. There are now no privileges either of birth or profession. The citizens are all equal before the law. Titles of nobility are abrogated, not those that indicate an office or a calling. No German may accept titles or orders from a foreign government, neither can they be bestowed by Germany itself. But property is to be protected, and a full right is granted of bequest and inheritance. Even in the revolution we see that Germany has kept her head, and is proof against the insidious allurements of socialism. There is no state religion in the new Germany; but full religious freedom is guaranteed, and, what is more, full freedom of religious association. Henceforth the German people will recognise no discrimination against any body of persons or any calling. Would that some of the allied nations might open their eyes and see. There are lessons of immense value to be learned in justice and tolerance even from a beaten foe.

M. Cronin.

GIBBON AND JULIAN THE APOSTATE.

BY HILAIRE BELLOC.

THE criticism I direct against Gibbon's work in these articles is, as the reader may remember, divided and particular. I do not propose to show a general character of error, still less to deal with the whole work, but rather to take selected examples showing the various *sorts* of ignorance and falsehood which render this fascinating book unhistorical.

I have shown, for instance, in the detail of the True Cross two points: first, that Gibbon garbled evidence; and secondly, that he did not read his original authorities.

I have shown in the article on Gibbon and the Temporal Power that he misunderstood the distinction between legend and forgery, and, further, ignored the nature of growth in the former. While he showed a peculiar inaptitude to compare dates and at the same time had not heard of the Acts of St. Sylvester and did not know their history.

I have in the present paper another object, and perhaps a more important one. I select a special point in which Gibbon certainly *did* read all, or nearly all, the original authorities available to him. I select a subject on which he took special pains, and which he knew would be a test of his work. I take a piece of description where he was upon his guard and where he well knew that any main error or clearly expressed bias would weaken him, and I propose to expose the method whereby under such a test he falsified the story.

It is an exceedingly interesting point, and in its way

a decisive one, for it shows how by apparently small changes or suppressions an historian who is writing to a brief and whose business is rather a pamphlet than a record can deliberately create a false impression.

Julian the Apostate was an obvious point upon which the few remaining Catholic critics of the later eighteenth century would expect a devotee of scepticism to enlarge, to exaggerate, to falsify.

The modern anti-Catholic attitude still falls into a hero worship of Julian the Apostate. There are works such as Negri's, for instance, in Italian, which are mere crude panegyrics, and even those modern non-Catholic works which have attempted a saner view, such as the writer in the Cambridge Medieval History, or indeed any of our recent English University authorities, jib at the plain word "Apostate," and say all that can be said in favour of the last heathen ruler of the world.

Now Gibbon was a great artist. That is what lends such charm to his immortal work, and that is what makes its bad history so dangerous to the student. He was far too great an artist to fall into the gross error—which was also a kind of trap for him—of merely spending himself in praise of a man whose attempted destruction of the Catholic organisation he necessarily applauded, and whose failure he must have regarded as a disaster. Gibbon's whole attitude was necessarily one of pretended exactitude, otherwise he would have carried no weight. A man admitting a definite, complex, positive and at the same time enthusiastic philosophy—which is the attitude of the Catholic—may carry great weight as an historian while fully betraying the constructive and convinced mood in which he writes. A Calvinist can write a panegyric on John Knox and yet be a good historian. An English Whig can do the same for William of Orange; an English Low Churchman for Oliver Cromwell. But Gibbon could not speak thus of Julian without betraying his own thesis. For that thesis pretended to a contempt for any fixed and

positive creed: and Julian possessed such a creed enthusiastically. Only negatively could Gibbon applaud whatever was negative—merely non-Catholic—in the ideas and actions of the last of Constantine's line.

More than this, Gibbon was naturally repelled by much in Julian's character. Julian was wholly a man of his time, that is, of the fourth century, in which what we call the supernatural was taken for granted by everybody, Pagan and Christian alike. He heard voices; he saw visions; he delighted in mysterious rites. He was in communion with spirits which contemporary saints properly recognised to be evil—and all this in Gibbon's eyes was childish. Further, Gibbon stood in the full flood of that curiously illogical Liberalism which pretends to a complete tolerance even of things that would destroy itself. It is not difficult to judge of this attitude to-day, though Gibbon has been dead these hundred and thirty years, because there still remain among us in modern Europe a considerable number of men who are the heirs of that spirit. Julian's definitely adopting one side in a religious quarrel—even organising a regular hierarchy and theology for his own side!—seemed, to the mood in which Gibbon lay, morally distasteful and politically indefensible.

Both policy, therefore, and inclination pushed Gibbon to the drawing up of such a portrait of Julian as should seem superficially historical and be in epithet and judgment apparently impartial. He was careful to avoid too obvious praise, nor did he feel an inclination to indulge it.

Of the more value to us are the clear marks of his method when he would falsify history to the disadvantage of the Catholic Church. For here, in a case where he really has read all his material, where he dares not omit things too generally known, we can exactly estimate his method.

I do not propose to survey the whole six chapters—a twelfth of the entire work—in which Gibbon deals with the great religious crisis of those few years; I take only a small number of points in them, but I examine these

under the microscope. Such a piece of scientific inspection will, I think, be final. The points I choose are none of them individually important; they are concerned with details only, and nothing but a careful study of the original authorities can enable us to see their value. But when one has made that study the result is quite plain.

Gibbon in all these points deliberately falsifies; he falsifies with the evidence before him, and he always falsifies in one direction, to wit, the anti-Catholic direction.

I arrange my points—which are only sixteen in number—in four groups.

(I.) The first group of statements illustrating Gibbon's method of falsification concerns the Reprisals, the vengeance exercised by Julian the Apostate against the Court and supporters of his cousin Constantius, after the latter's death.

Observe what Gibbon has here to deal with. Julian, a pagan Pretender to the throne, is, after an act of open rebellion against the Christian Emperor Constantius, successful by the accident of his opponent's death. He takes the opportunity to make the ministers of Constantius suffer. He kills and exiles and confiscates, and all the rest of it. That is in the normal course of history. It is what one expects in the struggle for power which marks all history and perpetually produces such crimes. But these particular atrocities were committed by an individual whom Gibbon desires to put in a favourable light *as contrasted with* the Christian Emperor whom he succeeded and the Christian atmosphere surrounding him.

I have already said that Gibbon was not inclined to a mere panegyric of Julian, nor was it his policy to write such a panegyric. But it was very much his policy to falsify history as much as possible in favour of Pagan philosophy and to represent even a fanatical opponent of the Catholic Church as something better than he was. He could not thus falsify history by crude omissions of important and well-known things. He could only do it by a perpetual play upon detail.

Now what form would this play upon detail take in the matter of the cruel vengeance which Julian wreaked? It would take the form, of course, of making out that vengeance to be as just and as mild as possible. And how would this end be reached? By exaggerating its softer features; by toning down its worse ones; by omitting things in favour of the victims, and by omitting actions and decrees which show the persecutor in his true light. A false picture of the whole thing can easily be drawn without any crude or gross error being admitted, if only the balance of detail is always inclined in favour of the one side and against the other.

I will take three such details in connection with the Reprisals, and show how the thing is done.

(*a*) Among those condemned to death after Julian's success was a certain Florentius, who had been appointed by the Emperor to a high post of Government in Gaul when Julian was commanding the armies in the West also under the orders of the same Emperor. Florentius had loyally served his legitimate master the Emperor and had refused to help Julian in his rebellion. But he had been of the greatest service to Julian in all the latter's *legitimate* enterprises. It was his military advice which made possible Julian's striking victory before Strasburg, while he was still obedient to the commands of the Emperor, and it was his military action again in organising a convoy of supply that saved Julian's army upon the Lower Rhine later on. Julian had, therefore, good cause to be grateful to a man who was not only a loyal servant to the ruler who had appointed them both, but a particularly loyal supporter of Julian himself in the campaigns on which Julian later based his renown and attempted rebellion.

As the rebellion developed Florentius fled to the Court of his legitimate master, the Emperor, and when Julian reached the throne Florentius was condemned to death. He had done nothing save his duty, but he suffered (as

men in power normally do in such cases) for his attachment to an unsuccessful cause. Florentius fled. His place of hiding could not be discovered, and the sentence was not executed against him.

Months later, when it was more difficult to exercise vengeance, certain minor officials who were in trouble, offered to betray the hiding place of Florentius to the Emperor. Julian replied, things having then calmed down, that he was too magnanimous to use such information. And there is an end of the incident.

Now let us see how Gibbon deals with this. In the earlier part of his narrative, which relates Julian's campaigns in Gaul, Gibbon carefully omits any reference to the military aid of Florentius, and therefore leaves the reader ignorant of the gratitude which Julian should have felt. He omits to mention the lapse of time between Florentius' flight from judgment and the proposal of the informers, and by the use of three words, all appearing in one sentence, he gives the reader to understand that Florentius was in some way guilty of something worthy of death, though he does not tell you what that something was, for the simple reason that it did not exist.

The passage is in the twenty-seventh chapter of Gibbon and in the seventeenth paragraph. It runs thus :—

> The guilt of Florentius justified the severity of the judges and his escape served to display the magnanimity of Julian who nobly checked the interested diligence of an informer and refused to learn what place concealed the wretched fugitive from his just resentment.

Here by the use of the words " guilt," " justified " and " just " an wholly unhistorical impression is created ; the reader goes away with the idea that Florentius has been guilty of some crime. As a fact he has been guilty of none. Nor does Gibbon bring the accusation directly because there is no accusation to bring. And meanwhile on the

negative side he leaves the reader ignorant of all that ought to have moved Julian to gratitude and indeed of the whole atmosphere in which the thing was done.

(*b*) When Julian was marching eastward in rebellion against the Emperor, his cousin, who had given him his command, one fortified town with its garrison, Aquileia, stood out in favour of the reigning monarch, although Julian's armies had passed its gates. The presence of a garrison and untaken fortress in his rear was a grave peril to Julian's plans and might have upset them altogether had not Constantius died just at the right moment for Julian's success. Upon the death of Constantius the besieged garrison was summoned to surrender. It did not believe the news that the Emperor was dead, and continued its resistance, but on receiving proof of the Emperor's death and of Julian's accession, Aquileia opened its gates.

There followed upon this surrender a most abominable and barbarous act. The garrison, remember, had fought on the side of legitimacy and for its lawful master. It had surrendered when it was convinced that another had duly reached the throne.

Julian's delegate put to death the two subordinate officers of the garrison by decapitation. The chief officer he *burned alive.*

Now let us see how Gibbon deals with this little matter. Here is the sentence. (The 22nd chapter, the 13th paragraph) :—

> As soon as the legions in Aquileia were assured of the death of the Emperor they opened the gates of the city, and by the sacrificing of their guilty leaders obtained an easy pardon from the prudence or lenity of Julian.

That is what Gibbon tells us and that is all he tells us. He calls obedience to a lawful sovereign guilt : he suppresses the barbarity of the blind vengeance taken upon loyalty.

(*c*) I take for my third instance of Gibbon's method in this connection the incident of Ursulus.

Ursulus had been the finance minister of the Emperor Constantius against whom Julian had rebelled and marched. Julian owed him a very deep debt of gratitude, for it was he who had made Julian's position in Gaul possible by a generous financial policy, especially supporting—against the advice and policy of others—the young commander in the West. But for Ursulus Julian could never have given those large sums of money to his soldiery which were his chief hold upon his army, and, in general, it was Ursulus who had made Julian's career possible.

The unfortunate man was put to death and his goods confiscated. In this matter of the confiscation of Ursulus' fortune we must particularly note the fact that Julian was responsible for a new, despicable and particularly extreme measure of tyrannical avarice. He was the author of that novel legislation whereby anyone who received or concealed any part of confiscated goods was, *if he were poor, put to death.* Before his time the act was met by a fine. A fine still satisfied him where there was some wealth to recover from the culprit; but where that culprit was of the populace and unable to pay, he was to be killed.

Such an initiative throws into clear light Julian's attitude towards the confiscation of large fortunes where he could plead the excuse of rebellion. One is not surprised, therefore, to learn that, when he found the popular feeling about his murder of Ursulus too strong for him, and when it compelled him to disgorge for the sake of the unfortunate man's family, he was reluctant to part with the wealth, and only allowed *a portion of it* to go to the Treasurer's daughter.

Julian, whether from fear or from policy, would not interfere with the sentence when it was delivered, and the abomination was so atrocious that even the strongest supporters of the new regime cried out against it. Gibbon admits the unpopularity of this judicial murder and

mentions the liberality of Ursulus to Julian in the past. He sums up by saying :—

> The Emperor, deeply wounded by his own reproaches and those of the public, offered some consolation to the family of Ursulus by the restitution of his confiscated fortune.

Now here is an excellent example of the way in which Gibbon twists history. He is dealing with the most notorious, the worst case of all. A case with which all his readers generally acquainted with the period would be familiar. He could not merely leave it out or put forward a gross travesty of the truth. So what he does is to falsify one important detail, to suppress another, and so to distort the whole. He tells you nothing of Julian's new law, and he pretends that the *whole* of Ursulus' fortune was restored to his heirs : two little touches and the machine works.

(II.) My second group of examples is of the same sort as my first, that is, it deals with the falsification of history by Gibbon through a series of omissions and distortions of detail ; but it shows the method working in greater amplitude and producing its effect by a considerable body of such distortions and omissions. This group covers the points: the Fire of the Temple of Apollo at Daphne near Antioch, when Julian was residing in that town ; the attempted reconstruction of the Jewish Temple ; and the massacre of Christians at Gaza.

(*a*) What happened at Daphne was this. A famous Shrine of Apollo in a grove a few miles from Antioch enjoyed the special devotion of Julian. A Christian Saint named Babylas was buried and had his Shrine in the same grove. Julian ordered the removal of the Saint's relics on the plea that they polluted the Pagan shrine. The populace accompanied them in procession, manifesting anger at the sacrilege. Not very long after, on the night of the 22nd of October, 362, the wooden roof of the Temple of Apollo caught fire. It fell in, burning the idol of Apollo, which was of wood, but left all the walls and columns

standing. Julian accused the Christians of having set fire to the Temple, although he had no evidence and although the Priest of Apollo, even under the torture, was unable to furnish any. He ordered the burning of the Christian Churches which stood near the Greek Shrine and Oracle of the Didymean Apollo as a sort of expiation to the god, and he put to death one of the Christian priests of Antioch as part of his vengeance. In the desecration of the Cathedral of Antioch acts of the most filthy and odious kinds were committed, which would not bear recital here, and for which the reader must be referred to the original authorities. It is enough to say that they were committed by the officials of the Emperor, who were also his relatives, and that they were of the worst sort which you will find in the worst pages of Zola.

Now in this connection Gibbon produces his effect as follows :—

First of all he misleads the reader by telling him that the fire took place *on the same night* as the translation of the relics of the Saint. His object is clearly to make the crime of the Christians more probable. It did not take place on the same night. It took place some time afterwards.[1]

Next he says (chapter 23, paragraph 24) that Julian accused the Christians because " he had the choice between a crime and a miracle," asserting that the Christians could find no explanation for the fire except a miraculous one.

This is simply a falsehood. Many Christians, of course, saw the hand of God in the burning of the roof of the Temple and of the idol, and some said that the fire was started by lightning. But the general explanation was that the candles lit by a Pagan devotee at the Shrine set fire to something which sent sparks upwards and lit the

---

1 Dr. Lightfoot thinks this was one of the innumerable cases in which Gibbon merely copied an error in the French authorities. I do not agree. I think it clear from internal evidence that Gibbon, in the one case of Julian, really read his original and certainly his Ammianus.

roof. Such candles had been lit on the night of the catastrophe, and the Christians pointed out with great justice that as it was the roof that had caught fire first—which no one denied—it could hardly have been deliberately lit from below, but was almost certainly the result of an accident. All this, the commonsense of the matter, duly and amply described by contemporaries, Gibbon deliberately omits.

Thirdly, he makes the contemporary allusion of our most serious historical witness, Ammianus, *relate to the supposed Christian crime.*

The passage, in point of fact, relates not to the Christians at all, but to the Pagan devotee. What Ammianus really says is that there was a "light rumour" to the effect that the candles of this Pagan devotee had started the fire. Gibbon deliberately transfers this statement to the Christians and makes it apply to them. That, in an historian, is quite inexcusable.

Fourthly, he leaves the reader ignorant of the abominations committed during the desecration of the Cathedral, and here, by the way, he once again used the trick of the footnote. He puts in his text the single sentence :—

> Shutting the doors and confiscating the wealth of the Cathedral of Antioch.

In a long footnote (No. 115) he admits the vague phrase : "*Performed with some circumstances of indignity and profanation.*" Let the reader, if he can control his disgust, turn to the details of those "some circumstances," and he will appreciate Gibbon as an historian.

Lastly, Gibbon omits all mention of the burning of the Christian Churches in honour of Apollo.

(*b*) In the matter of the reconstruction of the Jewish Temple, the contemporary evidence is this : Julian's attempt to rebuild the Temple was stopped by fierce storms, earthquakes and, in particular, the appearance in the excavations of balls of fire which injured and in some

cases actually killed the workmen. The fact is given by Pagan and Christian alike and by full contemporary evidence, Ammianus, a Pagan and strong supporter of Julian, being our best witness. Further, contemporaries were astonished to note crosses appearing after a storm clearly marked upon the clothing of those around. "As neatly," says one authority, "as though they had been painted or embroidered."

That last episode is not necessarily miraculous. There is a great body of evidence to show that lightning has often had the effect of printing external objects upon flesh and clothes.

Gibbon's attitude towards all this is interesting. He does not, of course, deny the breakdown of the scheme for rebuilding of the Jewish Temple. He might as well deny the Battle of Waterloo.[1] It is one of the great facts of history. He does not deny nor even omit the story of the subterranean fire. It is far too well known for him to be able to do so. But he does all he can to whittle it down by a whole series of sentences (at the end of paragraph 18, chapter 23), saying that any singular appearance would be taken for a prodigy at that time; that the clergy of Jerusalem, being Christians, naturally told lies; that Ammianus, though a pagan and a contemporary, wrote a few years after the event; that we ought not to believe things unless we can examine living witnesses closely; that Ammianus put in marvels to embellish his history—and so forth.

His attitude towards the imprinting of the crosses upon the clothes is even more interesting. Because Gibbon was unacquainted with physical phenomena of this kind, because they are unusual, because the thing was at the time thought miraculous, and because our principal witness to it is a Christian—he simply leaves it out in his text!

[1] It was left to modern scepticism to go to this extreme. Dr. Adler wrote a treatise to show that no attempt to rebuild the Temple was ever made! Impudence on that scale only benefits sound history, by reaction.

In a footnote he does no more than vaguely jeer at an Anglican Bishop of his time (Warburton), who very properly and sensibly ascribed the phenomenon to the action of lightning.

(*c*) In the matter of the massacre of Christians at Gaza and other cities, Gibbon carefully colours with doubt what is an absolutely certain historical narrative collected from eye-witnesses and actual sufferers. He does not say the story is false: he cannot do that; but he leaves it diminished by suggestions which would be certain to affect a general reader who could have no knowledge of the originals. And precisely because the method is so subtle, it is especially worthy of our remark.

He mentions the atrocities, he even gives them in some detail; but he frames his account in sentences which forbid certitude. Julian's own admissions of the excesses, for instance, "*may appear* to confirm the *ecclesiastical* narrative." He then gives the details as coming from the authors of such "ecclesiastical narratives" only and not on his own authority, and he ends by telling us that the murder of George of Cappadocia (which follows) "has the advantage of certainty," as though the other atrocities had not.

It is a very slight alteration of the historical truth; but it is just sufficient to make all the difference between a plain statement and a false suggestion. It is as though a modern were to write of some certain modern event—say the sinking of the Lusitania: "Certain passages in the German press might be quoted to confirm what is after all only vouched for by angry partizans during a great war. Let us now turn to something of which we really *are* sure, the bombardment of Cologne."

(III.) The third group I take concerns two questions: (*a*) the alleged "intercepted letters" of Constantius, and (*b*) the supposed identity of St. George the Martyr with George, the Arian Bishop of Alexandria.

In both these questions we shall find Gibbon not dis-

torting the truth by suppressing and changing details, as in the first case, but doing so after a fashion which, unusual in his time, has become very common in our own. This method consists in stating a doubtful or hypothetical thing as a certain historical fact in one's text, so as to impress the general reader, and then dodging the serious critic by tucking away a reference to an authority in a footnote. Those who falsify history in this fashion (and Gibbon was one of the first to do so) avoid the risk of complete contradiction. They safeguard themselves by some annotated allusion to the arguments against them. But they do not admit this allusion into their text. *There* they boldly state as admitted historical fact what is, in reality, no more than a possibility or a guess or even a mere fiction.

I take first the "Intercepted Letter" as an example of this method. Let me put the plain history of the affair before the reader.

The rebellion of Julian against Constantius was provoked by the troops in Gaul which he commanded. A number of these were concentrated in Paris and had been ordered to the East, where there was very grave peril indeed to the Empire from the Persians, which peril absorbed all the attention of the Emperor Constantius and required the largest possible forces to ward it off. The troops in Gaul objected to leaving the West, proclaimed Julian Emperor, and thus lit his ambition. When Julian actually prepared for his march against Constantius he could only use these very soldiery who had so strongly objected to going East, and he had to persuade them to undertake the very task which had provoked their rebellion through its unpopularity. He had to put before them some motive which would induce them to go East with him. Further, he had to leave the frontiers of Gaul safe from barbarian invasion while he was away. If he did not, the troops he took with him from Gaul would certainly want to return and defend their homes. There-

fore he undertook a sharp campaign against the barbarians beyond the Rhine. He lured one of the principal German tribal chiefs into the Roman camp by a friendly invitation, and then took him prisoner. He *probably* spread among the troops the following rumour: that he, Julian, had intercepted letters from Constantius to the barbarian chiefs bribing them to invade Gaul, and so to prevent Julian from marching East. Much later, in his letter to the Athenians, written after his success and after the death of his rival, *Julian definitely states that he had intercepted such letters sent by Constantius to the barbarians, and bribing them to invade the West.* The accusation is repeated by Libanius, who wrote after Julian's death a panegyric upon his hero.

Now were such letters really sent and intercepted or no? It remains an admittedly doubtful point in history. We have to consider these facts: first, an Emperor actually bribing barbarians to invade the Empire was a quite unheard-of thing. It was a momentous crime hardly to be believed. Secondly, the letters were never produced or quoted. Thirdly, no mention was made of them to any audience capable of criticism until Julian's rival, their supposed author, was dead. Fourthly, the accusation is especially incredible in the case of Constantius because, of all the Emperors, Constantius was the most zealous in protecting Roman territory against its outer dangers. He sacrificed everything—even the defence of his throne during Julian's rebellion—to the necessity of meeting such a menace upon the East; and it was unlike anything we know of his character to have done so extraordinary a thing as to provoke invasion against his own State.

There the matter rests. No one can prove a negative. No one can affirm as indubitable history that Constantius was *not* guilty of this piece of treason. But all the odds are against it, because it is out of keeping with everything we know of the time and of the man on the one hand, and because, on the other, there was every reason for the

usurper pretending the existence of such letters, and yet neither they nor any evidence of their existence was ever produced.

The most detailed and reliable of contemporary witnesses, whom we must constantly quote, Ammianus, is clearly of the opinion that these letters were never written, and he says as much although he is throughout his work strongly favourable to Julian and opposed to Constantius. True history would mention the accusation, give the evidence against it, note the discredit cast upon it not only by commonsense but by the best contemporary witness, and leave the reader to decide on a point nearly—but not wholly—established.

Now let us see how Gibbon deals with the matter. At the opening of the 9th paragraph in his 22nd chapter he baldly writes :—

> He [Julian] had discovered from intercepted letters that his adversary, sacrificing the interests of the State to that of the monarch, had again incited the barbarians to invade the provinces of the West.

Note here two points: first, a highly improbable statement protested by the best contemporary evidence and by nearly all succeeding historians, is simply set down as an historical fact as though Gibbon knew that it had—what his general reader could never check—ample evidence behind it. Second, he slips in the word "again" to give the impression that the thing was certain because the Emperor was in the habit of such treason. In point of fact there is not even an accusation of any previous act of the sort.

To this first affirmation Gibbon admits no qualification; he has no reference to authorities for or against. He desires it to affect the reader's mind at the outset of the story. He proceeds for several pages to describe Julian's march against Constantius, still leaving his reader under this false impression. At the end of the description

he says again that Julian asked the world to judge between two competitors: "one of whom had invited the barbarians."

Here, for the first time, when the statement has already done its work, he admits a footnote (footnote 36 of chapter 22). In this footnote he puts in a sentence referring to the incredulity of Ammianus, but surrounds it with a reference to Julian's own assertion, with the repetition of Libanius and with an allusion to the letter not of Constantius to any barbarian, but of a barbarian to Constantius, which letter has nothing to do with any question of invasion, and is only dragged in to leave a vague impression of correspondence between the Roman Emperor and the German Chiefs.

(*b*) In the matter of the deliberate confusion between St. George of Cappadocia and the disreputable Arian Bishop of the same name, Gibbon procceds in precisely the same fashion. He makes his statement in a text positively as though it were a known part of general history which the general reader is expected to receive. He tucks away in a footnote a doubtful admission of the criticism against so monstrous a statement, and whittles down that criticism as much as he can. The general effect, therefore, is one of a plain historical affirmation; and even the close reader, with a critical knowledge of the time and of the authorities, is left with an impression that he has been told a piece of historical fact which he may take for granted and the objections to which are insignificant.

Let me begin as before by first putting the true history of the thing. There lived, in the middle of the fourth century, contemporary with Julian, a man called George; he was born of poor parents in Cilicia, but for some unknown reason—perhaps from his parentage—he later acquired the epithet "of Cappadocia." He is known in history as "George of Cappadocia." He accumulated a large fortune as a fraudulent Army contractor, turned Arian when Arianism became the fashionable court

heresy ; managed to get himself chosen by the Arians for the Episcopal throne of Alexandria ; there continued his habits of commercial swindling and oppression ; reviving old taxes in his favour, and especially persecuting the Catholics. At the same time he probably despoiled and certainly exasperated the Pagans. All this was while Constantius, who favoured Arianism, was upon the throne. The moment Julian succeeded Constantius the populace took their revenge against this disreputable and tyrannical man. They forced the prison to which he had been condemned and put him to death.

There was martyred at least a whole lifetime earlier—probably during the last of the Pagan persecutions more than sixty and perhaps seventy years before—a certain George, the genuine acts of whose passion have, unfortunately, been lost. We know the place of his martyrdom—or least of his burial. It was Lydda (Diospolis) in Palestine. We are also fairly certain that he was by profession a soldier. Every other detail has disappeared in the lapse of time. Indeed St. Gregory, two hundred years later, emphasised in a famous formula the loss of his genuine acts and the falsity of the legends that had grown up round his name. But though the original acts have been lost, it is clear that the character of the saint, or the occasion of his death, or both, produced a very deep impression upon the Church of his time, for he rapidly acquired universal fame and churches were dedicated to him all over Christendom in increasing numbers. There very soon collected round this devotion a mass of fable, and the earliest documents surviving are full of marvels which are clearly unhistorical.[1]

Gibbon deliberately states that the St. George of Christian worship is identical with the worthless Arian bishop put to death by the mob in Alexandria two genera-

[1] The most famous, the fight with the Dragon, is hundreds of years later and need not be considered. It does not fully appear until the Middle Ages.

tions later. His words (at the end of the 27th paragraph of the 23rd chapter) are these :—

> The infamous George of Cappadocia has been transformed into the renowned St. George of England.

Having said that, point-blank, in his text, he adds a little footnote of two lines (footnote 125) : "*This transformation is not given as absolutely certain, but as extremely probable.*" And refers the reader to an obscure little book published in Berlin and called "Longueruana," Volume I., p. 194. It is a reference which not one reader in 10,000 will dream of looking up. When it is looked up all you find is a posthumous collection of random sayings and notes attributed to an unimportant French dilettante —not the trace of an authority. Merely the remark—or reported remark that this dilettante had confused the two Georges.

At this point we may properly inquire, first, what was Gibbon's motive in repeating a silly piece of nonsense like this, and secondly upon what evidence he worked.

His motive is quite clear. It was to ridicule the devotion which the Catholic Church pays to its saints and martyrs. Out of thousands of legendary accretions and as many thousand cases of difficult identification he chooses the one which is the most ridiculous and the most startling. He identifies a great saint, of whom all his Protestant and infidel readers have heard familiarly, one of the very few Catholic saints whose name was still a household word in England, with the most disreputable character he can discover. That was his object. But what excuse had he as an historian ? Exactly these two points and these two only. First, that the name of the province, Cappadocia, applies to both Georges ; and secondly, that in one of the innumerable forms of the late legends you get the mention of a Queen "Alexandra" and the mention of a magician called Athenasius.

All the rest of the vast mass of material, purely

legendary and necessarily confusing the story of the saint with any number of others, Gibbon leaves on one side. What is more serious, he deliberately suppresses the conclusive point that the devotion paid to St. George can be traced back to a date so early as to make this fantastic confusion with the Bishop mathematically impossible, even if there were serious evidence in his favour.

I think I ought to point out in conclusion how characteristic it is that Gibbon is not even original in his falsehood. He never is. Of the hundreds of false or distorted historical statements scattered up and down his book not one can be found proceeding from his own study or critical faculty; all can be traced to the contemporary Continental writers, mainly French, whom he copied.

(IV.) My fourth matter deals with one point only. It differs from my first three groups in this: that the method by which Gibbon here gives us false history is not one of detailed suppression or distortion, but simple, unsupported affirmation of something not true, coupled with a complete neglect of the only available evidence.

In this the passage, though not unique, is rare and the more worthy an exact analysis.

When Julian had crossed the Tigris in that fatal expedition against the Persians which led to his death, the Roman army which he so mishandled might have been saved if a certain detachment which he had sent round by the north and which was to have been aided by the King of Armenia, Arsaces, had effected its junction with the main force. It did not effect such a junction, and the main body was compelled to its disastrous retreat without reinforcement. The 24,000 men which the King of Armenia was expected to bring up in company with the Roman detachment in the north failed to appear.

Why was there this fatal delay?

It is one of the most important questions proposed by military history and, like the famous question regarding Erlon two days before Waterloo, and a

dozen other similar problems, it will never be solved; at least it will never be solved unless a lost document is discovered. Ammianus, our great stand-by as a contemporary witness to all these affairs, a Pagan, a friend of Julian, and a skilled professional soldier accompanying the expedition, gave a full account of the military accident which prevented the junction of the armies. He says, in the 7th chapter of his 24th book: "*I have already given elsewhere the cause which kept him* (*Arsaces*) *back.*"

Unfortunately, several books of Ammianus's work have been lost, and among them that containing this military analysis of the military reasons which prevented the junction.

But we do know from the same authority that whatever the cause was, it was not treason in any form. Ammianus describes Arsaces as a firm and faithful friend and ally of the Romans. He is careful to emphasize that point. We also know that the King of Armenia ravaged a Persian province in the course of the operations, and we know that the Persians, after their triumph, treated him with the utmost severity as an enemy.

Now turn to Gibbon and see how he deals with that matter.

He makes his statement in the 7th paragraph of the 24th chapter, and that paragraph simply states that Arsaces betrayed the Roman cause. He does not even give a footnote to support such a statement. He omits all mention of Ammianus's testimony to Arsaces' fidelity, and all reference to the military explanation which has been lost.

Why does Gibbon deliberately write false history in this case, directly contradictory of all known facts? Simply because Arsaces was a Christian and was not only the friend of, but allied by marriage to, Constantius. It is one of the cleanest pieces of contradiction between historical fact and the plumb opposite of it that you will find in any piece of historical writing. H. Belloc.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS OF A CENTURY AGO.

BY JOHN M. O'SULLIVAN, M.A., PH.D.

Professor of History, University College, Dublin.

THE exhaustion consequent on a great war is well calculated to suggest the futility of such a means of promoting national prosperity, and the present is not the only occasion on which it has led men to devise machinery for securing permanent peace. Of the purely theoretical attempts to solve this problem one of the best known is that of the Abbé de St. Pierre, called forth by the War of the Austrian Succession. The reader whose interest in such proposals has been stimulated by the present plan for a League of Nations, but who finds little attraction in the diffuse volumes of the Abbé, may turn to Rousseau's admirable précis. But, naturally, a closer analogy is provided by the effort made after the defeat of Napoleon to give practical effect to such an idea.

The League of States that was then set up may have contributed something to preserve international peace in the generation after Waterloo. Yet even for this period its services should not be exaggerated. The strong desire for political repose which was felt by those who had experienced the stirring times of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars not only helped to give rise to the League itself, but continued for some time to be, perhaps, the most important factor in favour of durable peace. On the whole the League was a striking failure, but perhaps none the less instructive on that account.

Permanent pacific results it had none. Nor need this cause any surprise, for one of its primary objects was to uphold a settlement of Europe which contained "the germs of future wars." Security in possession, mutually guaranteed, was to provide the foundation for the coming golden age; but the ever increasing strength of nationalism was destined to burst the bonds thus forged. In a century of rapid change like the nineteenth the *status quo* in constitutional and international affairs could not be preserved, and the statesmen of Vienna supplied no machinery, except that of suppression, to deal with the new political forces that were to appear, and thus failed to provide peaceful transitions. Much political energy was to be spent in repudiating the principles then adopted and in tearing up the "settlement" then imposed.

Yet from the events of those years it would be a mistake to draw a conclusion unfavourable to the general idea of such a league. For we can trace the failure of this particular League of European States, presided over by the Four—after the admission of France by the Five—Great Powers, to certain defects peculiar to itself and apparently not unavoidable. It might seem then that the fate of any future attempt in the same direction will depend on the extent to which similar mistakes are avoided.

Among the causes which were operative in bringing about the failure of the Holy Alliance and the System of Congresses may be mentioned the circumstances of their formation and development, the jealousies of the Great Powers and the divergence, real or apparent, of their interests, the strong anti-democratic bias of the statesmen, and the neglect of the principle of nationality in the territorial settlement.

And yet it might be supposed that the times and the dispositions of the peoples were by no means unfavourable to projects framed for the purpose of guaranteeing peace. Europe was war-weary and sufficiently chastened to listen

to the voice of a calmer reason. And, despite the sufferings of the great war, peace had brought a wave of optimism to the surface. Hopes were entertained that Europe had seen the last of such disasters. In the course of the struggle sovereigns and governments had not been niggardly in altruistic and liberal appeals. Those foes of the Revolution, those champions of autocratic government and aristocratic privilege did not, in the hour of need, disdain to utilise popular enthusiasm and national sentiment. For this purpose Czar and King could be eloquent.

But once the "monster" was chained up, disillusionment was to come quickly enough. Where were now these high sounding principles? In their stead we find the greed for the spoils of victory. The one cementing bond which had kept the Allies together—the fear of the Revolution and Napoleon—was now removed by the completeness of their victory. It proved a very difficult task to adjust the ambitions of the combatants and the "compensations" guaranteed by the provisions of the various treaties which had been necessary for the formation of the Alliance. It was naturally still more difficult to bring the claims on the bases of these various titles into accord with the more generous professions of the enemies of Napoleon. Even to the foundation principle of their Crusade—Legitimate Monarchy and Prescriptive Right against Revolutionary Usurpation—they were untrue. But this was an embarassment to which they may by this time have grown accustomed as it was their faithful companion ever since 1792 and 1793, when they had felt it their duty to take protective steps against the rabies of jacobinism.

Though all the European states sent representatives to Vienna it soon became apparent that the "Four"—Russia, Austria, England, Prussia—were determined to keep all important decisions in their own hands. Appreciative acceptance was the role marked out for the

smaller powers. France, as the origin of all the evils, was to be excluded from the deliberations; her fate was determined by the Treaty of Paris. But these projects broke down before the diplomatic skill of Talleyrand. The proposal to exclude France might hold good against Napoleon, but for the Crusaders on behalf of Legitimacy against Revolution and Usurpation to exclude the successor and heir of Louis XVI.! Was not the cause of the Bourbon king preeminently the cause for which they had been fighting? Another consideration added weight to this. If France were excluded she might set up a "system" of her own among those smaller powers who were growing daily more dissatisfied with their treatment. Talleyrand was already beginning to adopt the role of the protector of public law in Europe and the champion of the weak. He might even appeal to European public opinion, which was already showing signs of restiveness. In the circumstances his admission seemed the lesser evil.

Once admitted to the deliberations he was able to make great play with the inconsistencies between the settlements proposed and the professed principles of the Allies. He carefully refrained from putting forward on behalf of France claims for any addition to what had been assigned to her by the First Treaty of Paris. He recognised that, once he abandoned this attitude of disinterestedness, the old hostility to France would revive and unity be again introduced into the already warring councils of the Allies. To their swollen ambitions he was able with some success to oppose the consequences of their own principles.

Into the details of the diplomatic conflicts at the Congress of Vienna we cannot enter. At one moment so acute were the differences that war between those who had sent Napoleon to Elba seemed imminent. From such a catastrophe, however, and from such a cynical disregard of the welfare of their war-weary peoples the statesmen shrank. But it was in an atmosphere of mutual distrust,

jealousy and hatred that the Congress Plan and the Holy Alliance saw the light.

To determine the terms of the peace to be imposed on France and the details of the rearrangement of the map of Europe which the Revolutionary wars had made necessary Congresses were required. Would it not be well if similar Congresses were periodically held with a view of preventing those misunderstandings that lead to wars? A quarter of a century of hitherto unparalleled warfare might have been supposed to have emphasised the lesson that individual states were not self-contained units without common interests and mutual obligations. A keener sense of the latter might not unreasonably have been expected from a Europe that had united against the contagion of Revolution.

This purely secular and political conception Alexander of Russia strove to lift to a higher plane by introducing moral and religious considerations. This found expression in the Holy Alliance promulgated September 26, 1815. It was signed by Russia, Austria, and Prussia—other powers being invited to give their adherence. Both England and France gave their assent, although the former, on a constitutional point, was able to evade signature. The signatory and assenting powers were regarded as members of a Christian Commonwealth. Princes were brothers with common interests, and ever ready to give mutual assistance. They were but trustees of the Divine Power with mandates to secure the happiness of the different branches of the same family. The egotistical feelings which had hitherto caused such woe were to give way to benevolence and affection. A new Europe was to arise, resting on the Pact of Vienna and supported by the unquestioned principles of the Christian Religion.

But few of the leading statesmen were ready to take this declaration of faith with the same seriousness as Alexander. The verdicts of some of them are celebrated.

Metternich regarded it as "a loud-sounding nothing," Castlereagh as "a piece of sublime mysticism and nonsense." But though the wordly wise statesmen of Europe may have scoffed at the Russian "idealist," they took care not to affront him openly. England had accomplished her purpose in defeating the power that threatened to become too strong and was inclined to a more detached attitude to continental affairs; Austria was on the verge of bankruptcy; Prussia was exhausted and dependent on Russia; Alexander alone had great resources and the consciousness of a "mission." In the circumstances it was better to humour than to thwart him, in the belief that his religious idealism would not effect much and in the hope that as events developed he might be circumvented or converted.

Whatever may have been the value of Alexander's attempt to make the Christian religion once more a living force in international politics, practical effect was given to the idea of a brotherhood of powers along the lines of Article VI. of the Secret Treaty of Paris—concluded between "The Four" towards the end of November, 1815:—

> To facilitate and secure the execution of the present treaty and to strengthen the bonds which at the present moment so closely unite the four sovereigns for the happiness of the World, the high contracting parties have agreed to renew their meetings at fixed periods . . . for the purpose of consulting upon their common interests and for the consideration of the measures which, at each of these periods, shall be considered the most salutary for the repose and prosperity of the nations and for the peace of Europe.[1]

Europe, then, was to be (as it were) federated in some loose way under the guidance and presidency of the Great Powers. The principles for which the Allies had fought and the territorial settlement which they had

[1] Alexander at Aix-la-Chapelle (1818) speaks of a "European System, the work of Providence, a general association having for foundations the Congress of Vienna and the Treaty of Paris, for conserving principles the fraternal union of the Allied Powers, and for aim the guarantee of all recognised rights."

imposed were to be sacro-sanct and were thus to provide guarantees of lasting peace.

But though from its nature there was no uncertainty about the territorial settlement, there was plenty of vagueness in other matters, especially in regard to the maxims which should guide the future conduct of the Powers. This vagueness was probably by no means fortuitous. Difficult enough as it was to get the Powers to come to an agreement on the division of the spoils, not even the miseries which the previous quarter of a century had inflicted on their peoples could induce them to limit their future freedom of action by consenting to any general principles designed merely to secure the common welfare. In such circumstances vagueness was, perhaps, inevitable. And it had this advantage, that each Power might hope to impose an interpretation of the vague agreements which would be in accord with its own interests. "Agreement" was thus facilitated; but the difficulties were not solved—they were simply ignored for the moment. If work was to be done, the vague and the abstract must be made give way to the definite and concrete; but this could be accomplished only at the expense of the League's cohesion.

For a while Alexander—the "liberator," the conqueror of Napoleon but the saviour of France from the vengeance of Prussia—continued to occupy the most prominent position in the councils of Europe. A strange and unstable blend of idealism and ambition, of autocratic temperament and liberal leanings, at this moment he was a mystic fully convinced that he was entrusted with a "mission" in Europe. Gradually under the tutelage of the Austrian Chancellor and frightened by the manifestations of general unrest his Liberalism receded. He fell more and more under the influence of Metternich, the most vigorous representative of that Conservatism in which alone safety seemed to lie. Hence when at last the shadowy forms of the Alliance began to assume more definite shape Metternich, not Alexander, was the guiding spirit.

This man was at the head of the Austrian Government for a generation, and for twenty years his will was supreme there. Inordinately self-opinionated he was now to stand forth as the implacable foe of the Revolution and all it stood for. Convinced that his lot was cast in an age of decay, and that change meant deterioration, not progress, his duty was to keep the machine of State in working order as long as possible. To secure stability and repose—which hostile critics were inclined to think too closely resembled the repose of death—was his great aim. By conviction a foe to democracy, his position as Austrian Chancellor made him equally hostile to the spirit of nationality, the import of which he had probably gauged more clearly than a man like Canning.

In this twofold negative policy he really stood for the spirit which had been victorious over Napoleon—in whom the Allies saw not merely the Imperator, but also the representative and heir of the Revolution. One hundred years ago the great panacea for European ills was not democracy combined with self-determination, but the guaranteed rule of "legitimate" monarchs. Revolutionary ideas, be they democratic, constitutionalist, or national in their aim, were regarded as the main danger that threatened the repose so avidly desired by the Europe of that day. This is not the place to estimate the relative merits of autocracy, aristocratic constitutionalism, and democracy as forms of government. For our purposes it is sufficient to point out that the growing strength of democracy in the nineteenth century was fatal to arrangements that presupposed quite the contrary conditions. The Revolution was not completely slain. The quarter of a century of warfare ushered in by the Declaration of the Rights of Man could not be blotted out by the mere *fiat* of assembled autocrats. Democratic ideas had not only taken root in France, they had been carried beyond the frontiers by the armies of the Republic and of Napoleon—in 1815 they might be covered over and hidden, they

could not be fully stamped out. The middle classes had definitely arrived as a political factor and were to claim an ever increasing influence in shaping the policy of the State. These claims might vary from practically full control to mere "limitation" of the power of the sovereign, and were made on behalf of a greater or lesser circle of citizens who had become conscious of their "rights" and strength. At a later stage the struggle was to pass beyond the limits of the middle classes, and the workers were to use against them the weapons and arguments which they themselves had employed against the monarchy and nobility. However much the men, who in 1815 had in their hands the remaking of Europe, may have believed it possible and necessary for the welfare of society to stamp out such aspirations, as pernicious diseases, subsequent events were to show that such a task was beyond their power. When the generation that had experienced the hardships of the Napoleonic wars passed away, the defects of the pacification of 1815 became every day more evident. If the new political and national ambitions which made their appearance could not be satisfied by the method of peaceful reform, then no coalition of the European powers could prevent resort being had to revolutionary means.

Wedded, as the statesmen of the Restoration Era were, to Reaction, it might seem a legitimate consequence enough of the brotherhood of kings, of the idea that States had common interests and mutual obligations, that the League of Powers had both the right and the duty to intervene in the internal affairs of a country in order to stamp out the beginnings of the contagious and menacing disease of democracy. What objection could be raised to this reasoning by those States which made use of it against the virus of the French Revolution, and dictated to the people of France the form of government which the safety of Europe required them to live under? But, once grant the principle, and the League of States would

become—as in fact it was fast becoming under Metternich's guidance—a league not merely to guarantee the Pact of Vienna, but in case of need a League of Sovereigns against their subjects.

This development was gradually revealed in the years that followed the Congress of Vienna. At the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818 the "brotherhood" was apparently still intact, though it must be acknowledged that no crises had arisen to test its solidity and practical value. Some of the statesmen were indeed beginning to fear that the high religious and moral tone of Alexander might be a cloak to more worldly ambitions. England was already showing signs of that restiveness which helped ultimately to break up the League. The principal work accomplished was the withdrawal of the army of occupation from France and her admission into the family of nations, after she had convinced the Four that she would continue to tolerate the restored legitimist government. On the other important question raised, the abolition of the slave trade, the jealousies of the Powers proved stronger than their fraternity, and they had to content themselves with pious resolutions.

It was in Germany that Metternich was given the first opportunity of putting his system into practice. Germany after 1815 was a Europe on a smaller scale, a somewhat more clearly defined League of States than the European Concert. At the head was nominally a Diet in which some forty states were represented, the smaller out of all proportion to their importance. But in fact this body had little power; whatever general supervision there was of German affairs being largely dependent on agreement between the two leading states, Austria and Prussia. The principle of intervention against revolutionary movements and propaganda was here definitely acknowledged. The whole repressive machinery of Metternich's policy found expression in the celebrated Carlsbad Decrees (1819). The loosely constructed Confederation did little or nothing

to satisfy aspirations for German unity, but proved capable of being used as an instrument for crushing democratic and even Liberal propaganda.

The question was whether Metternich could do for Europe as a whole what he had succeeded in doing in the smaller field. If the fundamental rights of sovereign states had been thus "violated" in Germany, why not in Europe as a whole? Metternich's policy was aided by the fact that about this time the Spanish troubles and the murder of the Duke of Berry completed the "conversion" of Alexander, who at the Congress of Troppau did penance for the political sins of his youth. There also Metternich was able to draw a distinction between legitimate revolutions (*i.e.* those initiated by authority) and illegitimate (those enacted from below). In the former case intervention is not permissible; in the latter the signatory powers should contract never to recognise changes so effected and should undertake to abolish such as have taken place in their own states. He also laid down the principle that "every government has the right to control political changes in another state when these changes are of such a character as to endanger the security of the neighbouring states." The protocol of Troppau—against which Castlereagh protested and to which France gave her assent only with reservations—proclaimed the right of intervention against such revolutionary changes in any state as threatened danger to others.

Of this spirit of Reaction thus outlined for Europe Metternich may have been the high-priest, but he was only *primus inter pares*. Yet hostility to democracy had to yield to a more potent force. The conflict of material interests and national egotism proved themselves more real than the professions of faith of the Holy Alliance. Metternich himself, than whom no one was more committed to the policy of immediate intervention to crush revolt, showed that he was no doctrinaire with too rigid a loyalty to principle. It was with different eyes that he viewed

the prospect of such medicinal intervention in Italy, where Austria would be the natural mandatory of the Powers, and of similar action in Spain where France seemed marked out for a like role. And however keen he was in proving to Alexander the error of his ways, he showed no love for the proposal to march 150,000 Russians across Europe in the sacred cause of established order.

England also refused to give her adherence to any such general principle as the right of intervention and viewed with growing disfavour the efforts of the League to police Europe, even though such an attitude on her part threatened to render the entire plan nugatory. True she had acted, and with great determination, in the case of the French Revolution. But in words that recall Burke's Apologia for the Revolution of 1688 and his refusal to draw from it any abstract general principle establishing a right of revolt, Castlereagh objected to elevate into a general rule of international law the procedure adopted in an exceptional case. As well as this, England was now rather inclined to hold aloof from continental affairs, and to consolidate the gains of the late war. Furthermore, the principle of intervention might be so applied—and when Spanish affairs became acute was in danger of being so applied—as to conflict with her commercial policy. She was for economic reasons anxious to recognise the independence of the revolted South American Colonies of Spain—a step which she took in 1825.

At the Conference of Laibach (1821) it was obvious that England was prepared to disrupt the Concert on the question of the renewal of the Troppau Protocol. The fear of isolated action on the part of Russia in the Near East alone restrained her. Herein she was in agreement with Austria, and Metternich had not abandoned all hope of winning her over. Had Castlereagh lived such community of interests might have brought about an understanding; for he was more akin to Metternich than Canning. But his suicide destroyed this hope. At the

Congress of Verona (1822), where the question of intervention in Spain was the principal question, the rift was complete and Wellington, the British representative, withdrew. This open defection of England practically brought to an end this first experiment of a League of States.

But even had not the basal idea of the League been thus early repudiated, the history of the nineteenth century would convince us that, as a guarantee of permanent peace, it was doomed to complete failure. In its essential features it so ran counter to some of the strongest political forces of the last hundred years that it may be questioned whether it was not destined ultimately to prove more potent for war than for peace. It may be unjust and even naive to throw too much blame on the statesmen at Vienna because they were unable to foresee these future forces. Such foresight was not, indeed, impossible—Napoleon's apologia from St. Helena and the arguments he used to lay the foundation of the Napoleonic Legend prove the contrary—but it is unfortunately extremely rare. It was certainly not given to the Metternichs, Hardenbergs and Castlereaghs of that day. They therefore had no thought of satisfying the claims of democracy and nationality, and misjudged the strength which these were destined to acquire. But though they can hardly be blamed for acting according to their lights, however narrow, this narrowness was none the less fatal to the permanency of their schemes.

Of their anti-democratic bias—which, on the occasion of more than one revolution even subsequent to the collapse of the League, threatened to produce international chaos—we have already had something to say. Quite as pernicious in its effects was the territorial settlement which the League was pledged to support. The wonder is not that in the conflict of greed and intrigue no equitable settlement was produced, but that the Powers managed to agree on any settlement at all. What made it so particularly unstable was that it ignored the spirit of

nationality, and that this spirit was destined to grow in strength during the subsequent century.

Perhaps, on the whole, the French settlement was the least unsatisfactory in this respect. Yet even here one or two remarks may not be out of place. Two readjustments were then possible, to which the more assertive and self-conscious nationalism of later times raised almost insuperable obstacles. On the one hand, France might have been driven back from the Rhine, and Alsace and Lorraine handed over to Germany more easily than in 1870. Much less violence would have been done to the feelings of the people at a period when their Gallicanisation was comparatively recent and had not struck such deep roots as in 1870. On the other hand, the policy of the Rhine-frontier for France might have been accomplished in 1815 with little or no opposition from the German inhabitants of the west bank. During the twenty years of French occupation they had become at least half-French in feeling; and in no quarter of Europe was the downfall of Napoleon more sincerely regretted. Certainly they were much more inclined to union with France than to that incorporation with Prussia which the Powers imposed on them. The French were by no means satisfied with the frontiers assigned to them, and a growing party in France looked upon it as a part of national honour to tear up the pact of 1815.

We can touch but briefly on the various instances in which the spirit of nationality was ignored by the Congress of Vienna, only to become resurgent at a later date, giving occasion to "internal" revolt and menacing international peace.

Poland was as badly treated by the Congress as it had been by the Enlightened Despots of the Eighteenth Century. A new division took place between the old partitioning Powers—Russia, Austria and Prussia. To provide a barrier to the restlessness of French ambition Belgium and Holland were united to form one kingdom,

the United Netherlands. The peoples of these countries, so incongruously united to assuage the fears of the autocrats, differed in language, religion, traditions, and economic interests! This was a typical piece of work of the Congress. The Union lasted only half a generation. The same disregard for nationalism, though in a less striking degree, was exemplified in the union of Norway and Sweden. Austria continued to be a collection of widely different peoples having no bond of unity save loyalty to the dynasty. When the rising tide of democracy should undermine this feeling the question of these nationalities was bound to become one of the most acute in Europe. In Germany nothing was done to satisfy the aspirations, already articulate, but later to become stronger, for national unity. It was left for the policy of "blood and iron," with its corollary of foreign wars, to supply the unifying force. Italy was restored to the Ancien Régime and to Disunion, and its fate continued to trouble Europe and provide occasion for wars during half a century.

Finally, the most difficult problem of all, the fate of the Turkish Empire, was simply evaded. And yet scarce a year has passed in which some aspect of this question has not threatened or been the cause of great wars. Alexander wished the Congress to acknowledge Russia's right to protect the Orthodox subjects of the Sultan; England and Austria were in favour of guaranteeing the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. "Agreement" was reached by shelving the question.

The attempts to federate Europe, of which Alexander was the most sincere exponent, failed because the statesmen of that time were not sufficiently enlightened or were too patriotic to make any sacrifice of national ambition for the common welfare, and because their political outlook and the settlement they imposed on Europe belonged to the century that had passed rather than to that which was dawning.

J. M. O'Sullivan.

ANDRE LAFON: POET AND NOVELIST.

BY VIRGINIA M. CRAWFORD.

IN the lamentable thinning-out effected by the war in the ranks of literary France, an impoverishment to the nation utterly beyond human computation, the loss of a talent as pensive and self-effacing as that of André Lafon might almost have been overlooked had it not been for two circumstances in his favour. The first was the warm friendship that bound him to a young contemporary poet, François Mauriac, more favoured by fortune than himself, who has been both able and determined to keep his memory green. The second was the fact that to a life of enduring poverty and obscurity there had come, unsought, a brilliant moment of European fame, when, in 1912, the French Academy bestowed its newly-founded prize for literature, worth 10,000 francs, on Lafon's first novel, *L'Elève Gilles*. A selection so unexpected could not but be keenly criticised at the moment, though time has fully vindicated it, and we may be grateful to the Academy for an act without which this exquisite, diffident artist might have glided through life without any public recognition and but little commemoration.

This one outstanding event, however, in a life singularly devoid of incident, throws no real illumination on a writer who was emphatically a poet more than a novelist. His external career may be traced in a few lines. Born (1883) in humble circumstances, Lafon's earliest years were spent at Bordeaux. Later his parents moved to the sleepy little town of Blaye, situated on the broad estuary of the

Garonne, in the midst of low vineyards and a wide, melancholy landscape which impressed itself on his mental vision. At Blaye André became a pupil at the Municipal College, and it was there, his own education finished, that he started on his career in the humble duties of *surveillant* or prefect of discipline. The fact that family circumstances debarred him from passing through the Ecole Normale unhappily shut him out from the higher ranks of the profession in spite of his special aptitudes as a teacher. He was, however, fortunate in securing a post as an under-master in the lycée at Bordeaux, and from there a friend arranged for his transfer to the Lycée Carnot in Paris. His final teaching post (1912) was one more to his liking : an assistant-mastership at the Catholic College of Ste Croix at Neuilly, an appointment he owed to the good offices of his friend and spiritual guide, the Abbé Petit de Julleville, director of the Seminary of Issy. It was from Ste Croix that war summoned André Lafon to his death.

It is clear that with a career so uninspiring, so restricted, literary inspiration must be wholly subjective. Endowed with an almost abnormal sensibility, it was in his own joys and sufferings and, in nature as he had studied it amid the vineyards of the Gironde, that he found the inspiration alike of his prose and verse. He is of the school of Maurice de Guérin, for whom indeed he entertained an enthusiastic veneration. Like him he was refined, melancholy, introspective, a true and sensitive lover of nature. Lacking, like all the romantics, in a sense of humour, his was a gentle spirit that expanded almost with an excess of emotion to sympathy and friendship and closed in silent endurance before external trials. There is no trace of bitterness in his writings, no irony, no scorn. Like de Guérin he passed through a period of unbelief, but unlike him his anguish of soul was in no way induced by dissipations of body. All through his life André was an almost Franciscan lover of chastity

and poverty and humility. "I have the soul of a lay brother" he could write of himself with truth.

On Lafon's arrival in Paris at the age of twenty-five he was quickly made welcome in the little coterie of young Catholic writers who clustered round the *Amitié de France*, a quarterly publication, founded by Georges Dumesnil, professor of philosophy, and a man of much sterling character. Among his contributors were to be numbered not only men of established literary reputation such as Claudel, Le Cardonnel, Georges Goyau and so forth, but many young Catholics whom he delighted to encourage and whose names have since become well known in connection with that Catholic literary renaissance of which so much has already been written. Notable among these was the poet, Robert Vallery-Radot, to whom we are indebted for far the best "Anthologie de la Poésie Catholique" in existence, and who became, next to Mauriac, Lafon's most intimate friend, and Francis Jammes, author of "Georgiques Chrétiennes" and of that exquisite little romance, "Le Rosaire au Soleil," ingeniously built up on his devotion to the Rosary. Lafon had been brought within this attractive circle by François Mauriac, author of a volume of religious verse, "Mains Jointes," and himself a native of the Gironde. The young men had exchanged poems while Lafon was still teaching at Bordeaux, and in his biographical sketch of his friend Mauriac tells of the pleasure of their first meeting and of the warm intimacy that sprang up between them. It was Mauriac who helped to bring about Lafon's return to the religious practices of his boyhood; together they made their annual retreat at the Dominican novitiate in Belgium, and at Mauriac's country house at Malagare in the Gironde many happy vacations were spent. It was to Mauriac that Lafon poured out his soul in long self-revealing letters, and it was thanks to him that a fresh life of intellectual and artistic interests was superimposed on the daily drudgery of his school work.

"Your precious friendship," he wrote to him on one occasion, "is to me as an open window after the long corridor of my solitude. You will understand with what joy I should gaze out of it—with the same joy I now think of you in this room where no friend comes to visit me and which is haunted by ghosts."

It was while still at Bordeaux, during the most unhappy period of his life, that Lafon had brought out his first slim book of "Poèmes Provinciaux." "La Maison Pauvre," on which his solid reputation as a poet rests, was published shortly after his arrival in Paris. His theme, as the title shews, is humble peasant life described quite simply in its every-day aspects of toil and poverty. The atmosphere is very similar to that of his prose works—gentle, resigned, pensive, full of the quiet beauty of life, and breathing a spirit of humility and prayer. His verse is always flowing and melodious, at times a little monotonous. The images are taken from peasant life; he shews us the washer-woman who has washed all day on the river-bank,

> Suspendant à la corde raide qu'elle essuie,
> Le linge, de ses bras en croix levés bien haut.

And he introduces us to the ideal Christian home:

> Nous avons fait bénir le seuil et chaque pièce;
> Nos chevets ont la croix et la branche de buis.
>
> Si le Seigneur passait à l'heure où le jour baisse,
> Et qu'il daignât entrer, il se verrait chez lui.

Many of the poems are definitely religious, and illustrate not only the poet's realisation of his own unworthiness, but his vivid sense of companionship with all that is poor and humble around him. It is because of this that one can speak of him as truly Franciscan in spirit. In his "Anthologie" Robert Vallery-Radot accords the book the highest praise as one of the richest on the interior life that have been written of recent years. Certainly

the poet himself was justified in writing: "The best of my soul is in my poems, occasionally in my letters, and very rarely in my speech."

For those who can read between the lines "L'Elève Gilles" is as self-revealing as the poems, for both the boy hero and the usher, M. Laurin, are largely moulded on Lafon's own life. The book is a tender, pathetic idyll, very intimately true of child-nature and almost wholly free from the super-sentimentality that mars so many child stories. The rhythmical charm of its style is hard to define; it is singularly simple and direct, the outcome of a mind combining great refinement with much clarity of vision. Owing to the incipient insanity of his father, a moody musician, little Jean Gilles, aged ten, passes from the care of a young and adoring mother to the wholesome life of a farm among the vineyards of the Gironde between an aged great-aunt and her devoted servant. At first he suffers from the solitude of emotional childhood, from the horrors of a dark passage, the recurring terrors of the night and the sense of mystery hanging over his afflicted parent. But by degrees the quiet dreamy days, exquisitely described, work their spell on the highly-strung nervous child, the garden and the poultry yard afford endless happiness, and he acquires a new sense of companionship with the humble things around him. The events of his life are the solemn observance of Sunday, the driving in to Holy Mass at the neighbouring town in a venerable carriage, the awe-inspiring joy of the midnight Mass at Christmas, the good things to eat that the Feasts of the Church invariably brought, and, best of all, the short sudden visits of his adored mother. Later comes school in the neighbouring town, with the single redeeming feature of the Sunday *sortie* to the farm, one of those depressing French schools where there are no games, no gymnastics, no healthy outlet for boyish vigour, nothing after long hours of study save the crowded school yards where the children play and loaf and tease each other

under the bored supervision of the *surveillant*, with, twice a week, the hated interminable walks, two and two. It is astonishing that in a country where children are the object of so much devoted affection custom should still ordain that they should pass through so dreary a novitiate to life. No single French novelist has ever painted aught but a gloomy picture of the French lycée. More than fifty years ago Alphonse Daudet described in "Le Petit Chose," with what to-day appears to us as a superabundance of pathos, the miseries inflicted on the *pion* or usher, but curiously enough he had no word of pity for the boys who certainly suffer equally with their masters from so unnatural a system. Readers of "Les Déracinés" will recall the poignant picture painted by Maurice Barrès of the students at the Nancy lycée, cut off from all family ties, a prey to the morbid tendencies of adolescence. André Lafon is conscious of the evils from both aspects: masters and boys can never, for a moment, escape from one another. The same underpaid individual takes their hours of preparation, watches over their games and sleeps with them in a corner of the big dormitory at night. In most cases he is the butt of their boyish jokes and small malignities. In Paris, at the Lycée Carnot, Lafon had indeed a bed-room to himself, but François Mauriac describes it as little better than "a prison cell for a captive poet," a lugubrious ground-floor room lit by a window so high up that one could not reach to it. At Blaye and Bordeaux he slept with the boys, enjoying no possible privacy, and, like M. Laurin in his novel, he would wait on summer nights till his charges were asleep to stand at the open window and gaze out into the night, at length thinking his own thoughts in peace. Only a very beautiful soul could produce imaginative work of a high quality amid such harassing surroundings. It is worth noting that "L'Elève Gilles" is unspoilt by any bitterness or sense of grievance. It has no propaganda aim, and it touches on no unpleasant

problems. Lafon's dream is to put on paper the pure soul of a child as it is revealed to him, and writing to Mauriac from his "prison cell" on the progress of the book, he says :—

> I absorb myself more and more in my present work ; everything in it is peaceful and tender. Nothing happens in it beyond the daily events of life. The days flow by in a peaceful current in which the sky is happily reflected, and I perceive the two startled eyes of a child opening wide before the simple things of life. I live in my dream : it is the only refuge that affords me strength to continue my life.[1]

In this mental attitude the poet is able to penetrate all the varying moods of childhood : its vague terrors, its sudden audacities, its endless curiosity. One of the most charming chapters in the book relates how a great storm blows down one of the trees in the playground, carrying with it a portion of the surrounding wall and revealing a garden beyond as an earthly paradise to the little schoolboy who steals down in the night to investigate the forbidden land, an escapade of delicious joy and terror. Although Gilles suffers much at the hands of his school-mates these latter are etched in with an indulgent pen. His unhappiness, like that of Lafon himself, was largely the outcome of his temperament. Only in the taunts flung at him by his companions concerning his father's madness and in the episode that leads to his running away does the author recognise the cruelty that so often underlies boy nature. If the book is wrapt in an atmosphere of sadness it is not that the author was pessimistic, but simply because, in his own life, he had enjoyed such rare moments of happiness.

Shortly before the war broke out Lafon published his second novel "La Maison sur la Rive." It never enjoyed the success of the first. Its charm lies in its truthful presentment of the little town of Blaye above the wide

[1] See "La Correspondance d'André Lafon" in the *Revue des Jeunes* (August 10, 1918). Also "André Lafon" in the *Revue Hebdomadaire* (July, 1916).

river estuary and of the spreading vineyards that surround it, revealing the author's intense love for the very soil of France and all that it produces, a sense so strongly developed in a race of peasant proprietors. The essential weakness of the book lies in the fact that it professes to reveal the intimate soul of a girl while in reality it is written by a man. The idea of the book is copied admittedly from the "Journal" of Eugénie de Guérin, and up to a point it is wonderfully successful, poetic, cultivated, even tender. Lucille's reflexions are marked by a delicate perceptiveness and contain descriptive passages of real beauty. But the innermost feminine sense, so exquisitely revealed by Eugénie de Guérin, is inevitably absent, and this it is that leaves the reader cold. And when we read of Lucille's passion for the boy companion of her early youth the sensation strikes one as that of adolescent boyhood rather than girlhood.

Perhaps too the desire to edify is a little too obvious throughout the romance. It is, of course, essentially and practically Catholic, and is based on the beauty and necessity of sacrifice. Marriage, in the author's view, should not be, it is true, *de convenance*, but rather a sober union based on esteem and the hope of affection and buttressed by solid family and religious interests. Very quickly Lucille perceives that the artistic, irresolute, free-thinking Aymon must be put aside and that considerations of faith and family all demand that she should accept as her husband the solid admirable son of the richest vine-grower in the district. Yet the decision, which an English novelist would treat as one either of dire necessity or of cynical worldliness, is here placed—and who shall say wrongly?—on the highest social plane and one that the future is certain to justify. Probably in this matter Irish sentiment is more closely in accord with French than the average opinion in England, where purely personal considerations are alone allowed to have weight where marriage is concerned.

The months during which Lafon was at work on "La Maison sur la Rive" correspond with the period when by degrees he was withdrawing himself from all social intercourse, even from the much-valued intimacy with his brother poets, Mauriac and Vallery-Radot. Art was not less to him than in earlier years, but God filled his life more and more, and his appointment to the College at Neuilly, where he was much beloved by the boys, seemed to him an indication that he was to lead a life of retirement and recollection.

I also [he writes] have had my hours of heavy anguish, of sadness even unto death, hours, I confess it, of revolt. And now you see me almost calm, absorbed in higher things. Natures which have been weaned from the ordinary satisfactions of life have only two resources: Art and God, and possibly the former is only a means to guide our weakness, without harrowing of soul, to Him who wants us wholly for Himself.

And from Neuilly he writes:—

If He has withdrawn me even such a short distance from Paris it seems to me because Our Lord is drawing me far closer to Himself, and that henceforth He asks of me the little I have been able to give to my friends. At any rate it will be on their behalf that I shall make the sacrifice.

In another letter he explains:—

No, it is not happiness that I ask of God—or rather, yes, it is—but it is happiness in Him and by Him, that is to say His presence in the midst of all joy and all sorrow.

Even his vacations, which were usually spent with his parents at Blaye, were for him precious periods of fuller recollectedness rather than of mere enjoyment. Thus one Easter he writes to Mauriac:—

I have lived through these days of mystery in the grave recollection of a provincial town, without working, face to face with the sky . . . . . which has slowly penetrated my heart. A week of silence and of interior colloquy can do so much for our anxieties. Have you not found this yourself?

These quotations from Lafon's private letters make it easy to understand how, when war was declared, his sense of sacrifice no less than his ardent love for the soil of France prompted him to volunteer repeatedly for active service although his delicate health entitled him officially to work in a non-combatant corps. As a result he spent long weary months at the training camp of Souge, a desolate spot not far from Bordeaux. Here he cheerfully shared the hardships—and what for him was far more trying, the utter lack of any privacy—with a crowd of young conscripts amongst whom he carried on, in spare moments, his work as a teacher. All the letters of these months breathe the serenity of his soul and the interior happiness that transcended all exterior circumstance. It was his fate never to reach the fighting line, and his military career was as obscure and uneventful as the most humble soul could desire. Not for him was the glory of death on the battle-field. He was not called to die like Psichari defending his guns to the last, or to fall like Péguy shot through the forehead as he was leading his men in that decisive stand at the battle of the Marne. Taken ill with scarlet-fever, Lafon breathed his last without a friend beside him in one of the dreary wards of the great military hospital at Bordeaux (May, 1915). His parents could not reach him in time ; Mauriac arrived only to pray by his coffin. Even among the overwhelming tragedies of the war a sacrifice so complete in its obscurity deserves a memento of gratitude and understanding.

Virginia M. Crawford.

THE IRISH CLIMATE AND TILLAGE FARMING.

BY T. WIBBERLEY, N.D.A., N.D.D.

Howard Harrington Professor of Agricultural Research,
University College, Cork.

IN an article which appeared in the September issue of STUDIES the writer strongly advocated the teaching of agriculture on applied scientific lines, utilizing for this purpose demonstration farms worked as a whole under scientific direction. The object of the present and subsequent articles is to give some insight into the applied scientific features of a system of tillage farming devised by the writer and now known as the continuous cropping system. At the outset it may be explained that, whilst the system has now been adopted by many large landowners and farmers in Great Britain, the system was originally devised to suit the climatic, labour, and marketing conditions obtaining in Ireland.

THE NORFOLK SYSTEM OF TILLAGE.

The general system of tillage farming which is practised in Ireland is based upon a rotation of cropping first introduced about 1730 by the second Viscount Townshend. At that period Lord Townshend retired from political life to his estate at Raynham in Norfolk and devoted himself to the study of agriculture. The main feature of the Townshend or, as it soon became known, the Norfolk system of cropping was to combine animal industry with corn growing, two branches of husbandry which previously had been thought to be mutually antagonistic.

Prior to the introduction of the Norfolk system land was either left in permanent pasture or doomed to the exhaustive system of continued corn growing. For the latter, in order to clean and "restore" the land, it was left fallow (uncropped) through an entire year at different intervals in the rotation. In some places the land was fallowed alternate years; in other cases land, described in the quaint language of the period as "not being by nature foul," was fallowed every third or fourth year. A common rotation of cropping was:—first year, wheat; second year, oats or barley or rye; third year, fallowed; fourth year, wheat (as in the first year); and so on. Lord Townshend introduced a root crop—turnips—after wheat in place of fallow. The turnip crop was eaten *in situ*, so that the manure resulting from the crop might fertilise the land for the succeeding crop of corn, whilst the treading of the animals (sheep) which consumed the crop consolidated the soil and improved it as a seed bed.

Another feature of the Norfolk system of cropping was to arrange for the tillage land to be sown down to grass seeds once in four years. The method of "seeding down" to grass—the same method is now world-wide in its application—is extremely clever. Grass seeds require a long period to become established. Sown alone, except under the most favourable circumstances, the grass would not be fit for cutting until the year after sowing. Further, due to grass seeds making a very slow growth in the early stages, unaided they are not able to compete with the weeds. The method followed, and probably devised before Lord Townshend's time, was to sow the grass seeds amongst the preceding crop of corn, when the corn was in a young stage of growth, say about a month after sowing. By this method the corn acts as a "nurse crop" to the grass seeds, the former keeping the land covered and free from weeds whilst the latter becomes established.

The standard Norfolk rotation is as follows:—First

year, wheat; second year, roots; third year, oats or barley with grass seeds sown; fourth year, grass seeds cut for hay. In the fifth year wheat is again sown and the rotation repeated. In actual practice there are very few districts in this country where the Norfolk rotation is strictly adhered to. The general modifications which have been introduced are to take two crops of corn either before or after the root crop and leave the land down to grass for two, three, or more years.

Labour, Climate and Tillage.

At the time the Norfolk rotation of cropping was introduced labour conditions were entirely different from what they are to-day. Rural Labour in Lord Townshend's time was both plentiful and cheap. Also, there was little loss to the farmer from what the writer has called ineffective days—days when, through stress of weather conditions, it is impossible for the farm hands to carry on anything in the nature of land cultivation or harvesting. If weather conditions were bad, the farm labourers (as was the case only a few years ago in Ireland) were sent home and received no remuneration for the idle days. To-day, farm labourers insist—and rightly so—on as great a remuneration for their services as other manual labourers receive, and irrespective of the kind of work done, and even for those days on which, owing to stress of weather conditions, no farm work can be carried out. Again, no matter how well an agricultural labourer is paid to-day, he will not work the frightfully long hours that his predecessors of even thirty years ago worked.

Apart from the altered labour conditions, it is very necessary to emphasize the fact that the Norfolk system and its modifications were devised for the Norfolk area, or those districts represented by the South Eastern Counties of England, where the average annual rainfall for the 35 year period from 1876-1910 has varied from 20″ to 25″, whereas in Ireland, if we leave out a small

area adjacent to Dublin, we find the annual rainfall has been from 30″ to 50″, or an average for the whole country of 40″. From these figures, it is self-evident to the most casual observer that a system of tillage farming suitable to such a low rainfall as obtains in the Norfolk district is not by any means the best system (leaving out of consideration the labour difficulties) for a country having such a high rainfall as Ireland.

It is beyond the wit of man to alter climatic conditions; but (as will be seen later) it is easily within his compass to so alter his tillage operations as to make them fit in with existing climatic conditions, working with the climate instead of against it. In this manner we can so arrange our methods of cropping that the rainfall, which at present is a hindrance to tillage operations carried out on the Norfolk system, becomes, to a certain extent, an ally. Before, however, discussing this point further, it is necessary for us to compare in greater detail the rainfall obtaining in the Norfolk area with that obtaining in Ireland. Generally speaking, at least eighty per cent. of the tillage operations incidental to the Norfolk system and its modifications are confined to a brief period during the months of February, March, and April. The average precipitation for these three months during the 35 year period of 1876-1910 has been :—

	Norfolk Area.	Ireland.
February	1.7″	3.15″
March	1.61″	3.05″
April	1.63″	3.63″
Total	4.94″	9.83″
Average per month	1.65″	3.28″

The above figures alone, however, do not give a full idea of the difficulties encountered in attempting to adapt the Norfolk system of tillage to Irish climatic conditions. Because of the greater amount of bright sunshine and the

dryer atmospheric conditions obtaining in the Norfolk area the land after heavy rainfall will dry much more rapidly than in Ireland. Indeed it is no uncommon thing for farmers in the South Eastern Counties of England to have to wait for rain in springtime in order to commence tillage operations! In Ireland it is quite a different story. Some years ago, when the writer was engaged as Agricultural Instructor in County Limerick, he carried out, with the help of several Limerick farmers, investigations regarding the spring rainfall obtaining in that county. Each farmer was asked to keep a record of the number of days, excluding Sundays, on which it was possible to proceed with tillage operations during the period between the 1st of February and the 15th of May. It was found in the year 1908—a typical year—that during this period *agricultural operations were possible only on forty per cent. of the working days.* That was the average for the whole area under observation; for the heavy land around Cappamore the number of days suitable for tillage work was only twenty during the entire period! Considering these difficulties, it is no wonder that in County Limerick the tillage area had decreased until only five acres out of every hundred were under the plough. Now when the land is cropped on the Norfolk system or in any of its modifications, the garnering and harvesting of the crops must also, in a wet country like Ireland, be undertaken under adverse climatic conditions. August is usually recognised as the harvest month. In the Eastern Counties of England the average annual rainfall for this month during the 35 year period before mentioned has only been 2.3″, whereas in Ireland, with the exception of a small area adjacent to Dublin, the average annual rainfall for the same period and the same month varied from 3.5″ to 5″. These figures are not necessary to convince anyone familiar with Irish agriculture of the tremendous loss which annually results from excessive rainfall. Except on very poor land, it is usual in harvest time to see

beautiful fine crops of corn beaten flat to the ground, resulting in not only a great loss as regards produce, but necessitating a tremendous expenditure of costly hand labour for the cutting of the corn with a scythe, and even with a sickle, instead of with the labour-saving corn binder.

Bright sunshine is all important for the purpose of ripening and harvesting corn. In this respect the number of hours of bright sunshine in the Eastern Counties of England during the month of August varies from 6 to 6.5 per day, the total for the entire month being 193 hours. Taking Ireland as a whole, the corresponding average is 4.6 hours per day, with a total for the month of 142 hours, whilst over more than half of Ireland the average daily sunshine for the month of August varies from $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours to 4 hours per day.

The Risks of Tillage Farming.

In spite of the high prices obtaining for farm produce, especially cereals, it will probably be found that once the Compulsory Tillage Act—or, as a farmer recently described the Act, tillage at the point of a bayonet—is suspended, a large number of farmers will revert to grass growing. The only practical alternative is to adopt the continuous cropping system and thus, as far as possible, eliminate the risks incurred by wet seasons. There are those who imagine that, if the present guaranteed prices for cereals are continued, the tillage will also continue. Possibly so, but the writer very much doubts it. The layman must remember that the guaranteed price only applies to cereals safely garnered. A guaranteed price is not of much use when corn is rotting in the stooks, and no guarantee of weather to sow and to save crops is possible.

As to the risks involved by a farmer who ventures on a large tillage area—assuming the Norfolk system or its common modification to be followed—this risk can best be understood by setting out a common rotation in

detail. The commonest modification of the Norfolk system is as follows :—First year, spring corn ; second year, roots ; third year, spring corn ; fourth year, spring corn with which grass seeds are sown ; fifth year, grass for hay ; sixth year, grass for pasture ; seventh year, the rotation is begun again and worked through in the same order. Now, let us assume that a farmer, with (say) sixty acres of land, crops his farm on the above system. He would have ten acres in each break of the rotation. The corn sown in the first, third, and fourth year has all to be put down in spring time—necessitating a great rush of work at that period and a further rush of work from about the middle of August to the end of September to cut and garner the crop. In a bad spring sowing has to be delayed, resulting in a late harvest, for in nine out of ten seasons a late harvest follows a late spring. Now the later the harvest, the worse the weather and the shorter the days.

In spring time also the ten acres of roots sown in the second year, with the exception of, perhaps, a winter ploughing, has all to be cultivated, manured and sown. The sowing is usually done about mid May, that is the first sowing ; for almost every year, through the ravages of the turnip fly, this portion of the root break has often to be resown a second and even a third time. If a favourable season happens, then the roots have all to be thinned and hand hoed during the months of June and July—this enormous amount of labour having to be undertaken just at the time the farmer is busy with the hay. In theory the spring and autumn labour can be reduced by sowing autumn wheat after roots ; but it is only in an exceptional season and on the lighter lands that such a sowing is possible. In practice the farmer has often the greatest difficulty in pulling and storing the roots before the advent of the early winter rains.

It is well for the layman to get a proper conception of the tillage difficulties and risks involved by the Irish

farmer working on the ordinary tillage lines. If these were fully realised, there would be far less talk about the laziness and profiteering tendencies of the farming class. Also, the economists would have a better idea as to why, in spite of high prices and in spite of the efforts of the Department to stimulate tillage farming, there is still only 15 per cent. of the available land of Ireland under the plough. And this in a country where 85 per cent. of the farms are not more than 50 acres in extent and where—at least it was so before the war—between farmers, their sons and labourers we had 26 male workers for every 100 acres of tillage, whereas in England the ratio was 9 male workers to the 100 acres of tillage, and in the Norfolk area it is usual to allow four men and a youth for every 100 acres tilled. Of course, in the sister countries farms are larger and better equipped with machinery; but machinery alone will not help to increase tillage farming unless the tillage is so arranged that the maximum amount of work is done in summer and autumn, when rainfall is a help and not a hindrance in the working of such up-to-date implements as the tractor and its complementary machinery. Continuous cropping is an attempt to solve this difficulty; but an exposition of the system must await a further article.

T. Wibberley.

LAW AND ORDER IN IRELAND.

BY ERSKINE CHILDERS.

A NEW edition of Mr. John Horgan's *Grammar of Anarchy*[1] is timely. The pamphlet, as readers of STUDIES are probably aware, having been duly passed by the Irish Censor, was suppressed without notice in June last by the Irish Government and all copies of it in the hands of booksellers confiscated without compensation by the police—an illuminating example of "law" as it exists in Ireland. With the exception of a short introductory foreword, it contained nothing but a recitation, without comment, of a series of historical facts, beyond question or dispute, but of which the Government did not care to be reminded. Even the foreword was superfluous —so damaging were the facts and so obvious the inference from them. Mr. Horgan omits it altogether from the present edition, which is issued by an English publisher. The title—a phrase coined by Mr. Asquith, while Prime Minister, to describe the propaganda of Sir Edward Carson—is retained, and some interesting new matter, all of it in the form of tabulated facts, is provided.

The bulk of the pamphlet consists, as before, of extracts from speeches made by Sir Edward Carson to his Irish and English friends, in and out office, before, during and after the war, menacing Parliament with an armed and organised rebellion should an Act conferring self-government on Ireland be carried into effect, and, after it had

[1] London : Nisbet, 1919, 1s. net.

Royal 8vo, 234 pp. *Price 6/- net.*

STATE POLICY IN IRISH EDUCATION

A.D. 1536 TO 1816

Exemplified in Documents Collected for Lectures to Post-graduate Classes, with an Introduction.

BY

THE REV. T. CORCORAN, S.J., D.LITT.,

PROFESSOR OF EDUCATION IN THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND (UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN).

Author of "Studies in the History of Classical Education, Irish and Continental."

DUBLIN:

Fallon Brothers, Ltd., Dame Court,

AND

Longmans, Green & Co., London and New York.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

From *The Times* (London) *Educational Supplement.*

"Father Corcoran's book on the extremely important history of education in Ireland breaks some new ground. Here we have 92 documents from the most varied sources . . . which illustrate vividly the progress or retrogression, as well as the fashion, of Irish education from age to age; and these are followed by 10 longer documents of high educational interest. The story from first to last shows an eagerness for learning worthy of the days when Ireland dominated the culture of Europe. . . . The education in English charity schools, in the English endowed schools, in practically all schools became worse than ineffective, while in Ireland, somehow or another, the love and desire for learning among the commonalty survived. It did more than survive. It was a living natural force at the very time when, at the close of the Napoleonic War, English national education was the despair of every thinker. . . . The hunger and thirst after learning had survived in Ireland for a period of a thousand years; and to-day, if it is allowable to prophesy, the future of Ireland will be determined by the persistence of that tradition." (From a lengthy review, September, 1916.)

From *The Athenæum* (London), January, 1917.

"Documents, many of them extremely interesting, chosen to illustrate the history of the policy of the State in Ireland with regard to education. It deals with a subject on which there is little available information."

From *The Scottish Historical Review*, April, 1917.

"We have need for more information regarding Ireland, and Professor Corcoran has done a service in making accessible important fresh material in the history of her education. . . . His researches into educational sources need no emphasis. To a valuable task he brings a logical mind, a scholarly thoroughness and enthusiasm, and a gift of clear expression. The plan of the volume will commend itself to students, the indexes and introductory résumé guiding without permitting them 'to dispense themselves from personal work on the texts.'"

From *The Journal of Experimental Pedagogy* (London).

"The book shows Dr. Corcoran as a teacher of History, and as an exponent of historical method in accordance with the best modern practice." (December, 1916.)

From *The Journal of Education* (London), January, 1917.

"With a great deal that Professor Corcoran has to say we are in perfect agreement. He makes out an excellent case for his view of the English use of education as an *instrumentum regni*; but we question whether it is desirable in a National University to emphasise points of difference. . . . There is no suggestion that the book is written in a partisan spirit. It has a bias, of course; that is inevitable under the circumstances; just as the English reader cannot avoid having a bias in another direction. But Professor Corcoran is eminently fair, writes with great restraint, and in most cases lets his facts speak for themselves. If it could be arranged that all our English members of Parliament could be made to take the course at University College, Dublin, the book would probably do its best possible work. The principle of presenting 'originals' is getting very general recognition among teachers, and a book like this is very welcome."

From *The Contemporary Review* (London).

"The Professor of Education in University College, Dublin, has in this collection of Irish educational documents, and in his learned and interesting introduction, added a new and fascinating chapter to the history of British education. . . . Professor Corcoran's book has a peculiar importance, since it carries us down into the obscure deeps where Irish character—impatient, noble, uncertain, patriotic, restless, pure—was moulded. . . . We welcome this book, not only for its treatment of State Education problems, but also for its collection of documents that touch inner school life, and so do something to reveal the inwardness of Irish character." (From a review extending to three pages, November, 1916.)

From *The Tablet* (London), March, 1917.

"This is a work which can be read with advantage by the student of Irish Education, not only because it gives a clear exposition of its subject-matter, but because it is also an excellent illustration of sound method in the study of history."

been passed, making the willing participation of Ulster Unionists in the war absolutely conditional upon English ministerial pledges to repeal this solemnly enacted statute, or (what is tantamount to repeal) to mutilate it by excluding Ulster from its scope. A calendar of events from 1912 to 1919 enables the reader to trace step by step the surrender of successive British Governments to these menaces ; the inevitable effect upon the mass of the Irish people in destroying the last vestiges of their belief in the good faith of Great Britain and in forcing them to adopt on their own part a revolutionary policy ; the complete immunity enjoyed by the Ulster rebels in openly arming a part of the province for a rising against the Crown, and the mercilessly rigorous repression dealt out not only to similar action on the part of the Irish people but to the whole national movement as it exists to-day.

One of the most repulsive features in this ugly story is the frigid commercialism of the compact struck between Sir E. Carson and the British Government in respect to aid in the war, more repulsive in one sense than a number of similar contracts negotiated secretly by the Allied Governments at the same period in that, whereas under these agreements the small nationalities made the subject of barter were third parties, the price demanded by Sir Edward Carson for the supply of Ulster recruits was in effect the enslavement of his own country. Even so the supply was cautiously limited : so much for a pledge to repeal or amend, so much for actual repeal or amendments. Sir James Craig, the Chief Parliamentary lieutenant of Sir E. Carson, frankly revealed the nature of these terms in a speech in the House on a conscription debate on June 25, 1918, at the darkest moment of the war for the Allies—" If it [the Government] would pass a Bill cutting Ulster out of the Government of Ireland Act, 1914, ... I would have no hesitation in guaranteeing the military authorities 50,000 men in a fortnight." A not too scrupulous government could not stomach this, and the

Belfast manufacturers, who with plentiful labour were making immense fortunes out of war contracts, breathed again.

Another unsavoury feature in these transactions has been the personal advancement of men prominently concerned in propagating the "Grammar of Anarchy," as members of the Ulster Provisional Government, organisers of its army, or open supporters of its proceedings. Mr. Horgan appends a list of fifteen of these appointments, judicial, administrative and military. Sir E. Carson's career is well-known. Mr. F. E. Smith, now Lord Birkenhead, is Lord Chancellor of England and supreme representative of law in the British Empire; Sir James Campbell holds the same eminent post in Ireland. There are three other Irish judgeships in the list. Sir James Craig, shortly after the delivery of the speech quoted above, found himself first Treasurer of His Majesty's household and then Under-Secretary to the Pensions Department: and so on. One of the most conspicuously indecent appointments was that of Brig. General Hacket Pain, who had organised the Ulster revolutionary army and provided it with rifles imported on a large scale from Germany. It would have been easy for the Government to have provided him with a distinguished career outside his native province. The delicacy was thought superfluous, and in 1916 he received the Northern Irish Command, and held it for three years. In this capacity he not only was virtually, if not technically, in charge of the guns provided for the Ulster revolutionary army and still retained within the province, but as competent military authority was responsible for executing martial law, proclaiming and suppressing meetings, ordering courts martial and sanctioning sentences for political offences:—in a word for persecuting his own political opponents. He relinquished the post only in November, 1919, shortly after a culminating scandal consisting in the suppression, at the instance of a neighbouring Orange Lodge, of a

Hibernian meeting to be addressed by Mr. Devlin, leader of the constitutional Nationalists.

In discussing these matters it is difficult to avoid disproportionate censure on individuals, and this is a caution that must be addressed to those affected by the biting satire latent in the *Grammar of Anarchy*. To the Irishmen pilloried in it little responsibility will be attached by those who know history and can appraise human motives. It is upon the Englishmen that the shame and the condemnation rests. England conquered and colonised Ireland. It is within her power to relax her hold. She can recognise that Ireland has the rights and immunities of a free nation or she can continue to regard the island as a strategical convenience which must be held in English interests. So long as she continues to regard it thus, so long must she use Irishmen against Ireland, create and foment dissensions—for what natural antagonism is there between North and South?—and give careers to her friends and the gaol to her enemies. There is nothing original in this policy. No other means has been discovered by any Empire for supplementing physical force, by itself wholly insufficient, in the government of a white country against its will.

Physical force, however, plays its allotted part. To what extremes it will proceed in Ireland in the future it is difficult to predict. The military regime described by Mr. Horgan under the title "Precept and Practice in Ireland" in the June number of STUDIES—an article which was a useful commentary on his pamphlet—has been steadily intensified since that date. Here are some of its principal achievements.

Dáil Eireann, composed of the elected representatives of the Irish nation, and the only authority in Ireland with the moral sanction of a democracy behind it, was proclaimed as illegal on September 17th, but succeeded apparently in meeting in secret. On November 11th, the morning upon which two minutes' silence had been

ordained to commemorate "the divine blessing of peace," the police and military carried out an armed raid upon the Dáil's offices and arrested every male person upon the premises indiscriminately and without warrant. Three were Members of Parliament; but all alike were hustled off to gaol in lorries crammed with soldiers in full war kit. We must take a wide view of history to find a parallel for this. Germany has nothing like it to her credit.

In September the Dáil floated a national loan for a number of admirable economic objects—objects which the English Government in Ireland never dreams of promoting. The loan is "seditious." It is a crime to advocate it in public or even to have a copy of the prospectus in one's possession, and ever since the flotation the newspapers have been full of arrests, trials and sentences on this score. But the principal outcome of the loan was the opportunity it afforded to the military authorities of suppressing the Sinn Fein press, metropolitan and provincial. Twenty-two newspapers were suppressed in September, three in October, and one early in November (making 55 since April 1916). At this moment the political opinions of the overwhelming majority of the people are expressed only in one small weekly published in Dublin. Here again Prussianism hides its diminished head. The ruin and loss of employment caused by these brutal suppressions may be imagined. They were carried out, it must be added, a few weeks after an official announcement of the Castle, published all over the world as a proof of the enlightened leniency of English rule in Ireland, to the effect that the Irish Censorship had been abolished. The fact disguised under this announcement was that the soldiers had taken over the duties of the civilian censor whose powers were deemed to be inadequate. Hitherto newspapers had known where they stood, and "passed by Censor" was a frequent heading in Sinn Fein Journals. Now an editor first becomes aware that he has offended the authorities by the arrival at his door

of a lorry bristling with bayonets. An expert in the sabotage of machinery is included in the cortège, and the owner can only save his business by signing an undertaking never to publish anything which is an offence "under any statutory provision." Servility to the Castle régime and personal ruin are the only alternatives before him.

The proscription of the Sinn Fein organisation itself (together with the Volunteers, the Gaelic League, and Cumann na mBan (the Irish Women's League) already operative in four districts of Ireland, was extended to the Dublin district on October 15th in time to thwart, by means of a small army collected in Dawson Street, the meeting at the Mansion House of the Annual Convention. Police continued to picket the Lord Mayor's residence, for all the world like a blockhouse at the front, for a considerable period in case the Convention should fix another date for meeting. It appears, however, to have met at midnight before the appointed day. The Sinn Fein offices in Harcourt Street were already accustomed to raids; but they were to suffer more, and occasionally have had their mails seized *en bloc*. Measures like these cannot, of course, stamp out an organisation with a solid national backing behind it, but by the arrest of employés and the wholesale seizure of papers, records and propaganda they can hamper it severely, especially in the matter of publicity and constructive work. At a raid on September 12, for example, the police seized a quantity of material collected to refute a long public communiqué issued by the Castle in July in answer to charges made by the two American delegates, Messrs. Walsh and Dunne. Some impudent falsities in the Castle case were open to exposure by the simple production of personal testimony. The Castle, accordingly, choosing their moment, confiscated the evidence. Similar tactics secured possession of papers relating to efforts to promote direct Irish trade with foreign countries (bitterly needed by Ireland, almost the whole of whose shipping has now been absorbed by

English firms with disastrous economic results). While these steps are taken—and the suppression of the Dáil loan is an analogous instance—to thwart the honest if painfully difficult efforts of the republican leaders to promote constructive national aims, the Government uses without scruple the immense power conferred upon it by diplomatic agencies, cable control, Parliament and secret propaganda to calumniate the republican movement as an organisation to promote "crime."

The organiser of crime is the government itself. Ireland still maintains its high record as an almost crimeless country in the ordinary and normal sense of the word, as demonstrated by the list of blank assizes in the spring given by Mr. Horgan in the June issue of Studies. Nothing corresponding to the extraordinary outbreak of crime which occurred in England after the war has been seen in Ireland. Give the people their own government, ask them to obey their own laws, and they would be a model to the world. This is what England cannot be induced to do. On the contrary she adopts and enforces a criminal code unknown in civilised countries, and by means of a network of spies, a huge armed police (to whose armament the hand-grenade has now been added) and an army amounting on July 7th, according to Mr. Churchill's statement in the House, to 60,318 men, equipped with the most modern instruments of destruction, fills the gaols artificially with respectable "political" offenders. Their major offence, from which all others derive, is that they desire the independence of their country. In every other white country in the world it is considered disgraceful not to cherish this desire and treasonable to combat it.

The following figures covering the period January 1, 1919, to November 8, 1919, will give some idea of the daily activities of the police and military. There have been nearly 7,000 raids on private houses, to search for arms, literature, suspected persons, etc., without reckoning

extensive combined raids in which hundreds of houses are searched on one night and which would probably bring the total to about 11,000. There have been 437 baton and bayonet charges, 326 proclamations and suppressions of meetings, 838 arrests, 684 sentences, and 245 courts martial, in addition, of course, to large numbers of trials before the peripatetic Crimes Court tribunals. Heavy sentences are still imposed for such acts as collecting money without a police permit (a "crime" for which a number of women have been subjected to the ignominies of prison), drilling, making or listening to speeches, singing patriotic songs, jeering at policemen. Sports, dances and social reunions are banned or broken up, and with a sure instinct for vital points of attack the authorities have singled out the teaching and use of the Irish language for special hostility. Over extensive districts of the South and West fairs and markets are prohibited and economic life crippled. An order which came into force on November 15th prohibits the possession of motor-cars and motor-cycles without a police permit. On the other hand drivers of military vehicles have been instructed (so it was announced in a Dublin Police Court in November) not to stop if they run over a civilian. A Curfew Order under which citizens can be forbidden to be out after 7 p.m. was authorised in September and is ready for enforcement.

It goes without saying that, for the purpose of extirpating the idea of an independent republic, all this laborious display of tyrannical force is utterly futile. The idea, like all other ideas of noble origin, thrives under persecution. It is equally clear that the inevitable effect of such a régime is to provoke a certain number of serious crimes of violence, a number only limited by the self-restraint of a people with whom religious sanctions are peculiarly strong. It amounts to this that the government makes war upon the people—a dastardly war of organised and overwhelming military force against a civilian population—and

the victims are sometimes provoked into retaliation. With regard to this delicate matter I cannot do better than quote the words of Sir Horace Plunkett, a member of the King's Privy Council in Ireland. Addressing the National Liberal Club, London, on October 29th, he said :—

> You are governing Ireland with the help of a huge army of occupation, with all the latest engines of destruction, which in England are already finding their proper place in museums. This monstrous substitute for statesmanship is superimposed upon the largest police force, in proportion to population, in the world. The poor soldiers hate the job, but, of course, do their duty. The still more unfortunate police, subjected to this cruel ordeal, incur the odium of the Irish people, which ought to be confined to those responsible for the orders under which they act. In the circumstances the country is marvellously free from serious crime. The Government recently published ugly looking statistics of crimes attributable to Sinn Fein. The great majority of these consisted of expressing political opinions unpalatable to the military authorities, or, as they would express it, calculated to impede the police in discharging their function of suppressing meetings and newspapers of the leading political party. Some murders, which everyone must condemn, but not as many as might have been expected, have been committed, and it is impossible to bring the perpetrators to justice.
>
> People who dare to protest against a régime which would not be tolerated for a moment by white people in any other portion of the British Empire are ruthlessly incarcerated. Does it mean nothing to you that even your English jails will not hold prisoners whom every free-born jailer knows in the bottom of his heart ought not to be there ? By one of the latest proclamations I see that when I go home I may find myself forbidden to leave my house after dark, and while John Bull sits on the safety valve the pressure rises.
>
> Beneath all this tragedy—this futility and farce—there is being established an Irish Republic with, at least, as much moral sanction as your Governmrnt can claim, and with ten times its political influence not only upon the thought and action of the Irish people, but upon the anti-British sentiment throughout the world. Such is the achievement of English Government in Ireland to-day.

Lord MacDonnell, in a letter to the *Times* of November 3rd, wrote that " coercion begets crime and crime begets

coercion," and that "to-day the state of things and the attitude of the Government seem to me as ominous as, according to Lecky, they were shortly before the rebellion of 1798." All who know what that "attitude" was will realise the terrible indictment implicit in Lord MacDonnell's words.

There is no sign that the Government realise the moral responsibility they are incurring. Official utterances assume, with insufferable hypocrisy, that a congenitally depraved people is engaged in a causeless campaign against a humane and impartial government. Meanwhile a Cabinet Committee, dominated by life-long Unionists like Mr. Walter Long and Lord Birkenhead, have been considering a Home Rule Bill. No one consults the Irish people.

ERSKINE CHILDERS.

IN MY IRISH GARDEN.

A ROBIN sang to me—
And O the magic of his melody,
For he was free!

And while he sang to me,
I saw sad Rosaleen—her men I know,
Her women and her children—fettered so.

I wondered, too, if that wee robin knew;
For suddenly a sorrow seemed to take
His singing, that his little heart would break—
And then away he flew.

EGBERT SANDFORD.

MY MOTHERLAND.

MY Motherland!

Breath of the wild sea keeps thee veiled
Against a mellow sunlight's overbold caresses;
And from the deep eyes of thy many waters
A soul unsullied peeps:
A soul that strongly weeps—
Tears, tears of pity for thy sons and daughters—
But tears of weakness never, though thy clotted tresses
Be thorn-crowned, and thy feet be nailed.

My Motherland!

Faith in a just God keeps thee brave
Against thy fellow man's injustice, and, O Mother,
Thou, even captive thou, hast captivated,
By force of Faith, His Heart:
Now shalt thou see depart
Thy little ones again; reconsecrated,
Shalt rebecome torch-bearer to thy far-off brother[1]
Whom God, for thy fond sake, will save,

My Motherland!

T. GAVAN DUFFY.

---

[1] [This poem was written on the occasion of a visit to the College of the Maynooth Mission to China, Dalgan Park, Co. Galway.—EDITOR].

THE CALL.

FRETFUL and desolate, the infinite ocean asks me to come.

From my loved one I will not go.

In the two vast eyes of the horizon is a call, mysterious, dumb,

And the sun is low.

Blue waters warmly fondle a brown beach where joy laughs naked.

Yet I stay.

The alluring lights of the liner far off to the East, pleasure-achéd,

Fade away.

Red-ringleted romance bleeds, proud, fascinating my love from the canvas of many a painter.

But it dies.

In the chisel of many a sculptor is a beauty would taint her

Dawn-fresh eyes.

By my side up rises a mountain, majestic, austere,

Crowned with snow.

There, clad in light of the ages, the voice of an angel sings clear.

I will go.

PETER MCBRIEN.

THE HORSEMEN OF AILEACH.

UPON their brows the laurels of their strife
Still blow unwithered, and their spirits seem
Among the visions of a vanished life
To linger in a dream.

They list not the wild waters far away
That are not hushed with passing of the years,
Nor see they the long level western ray
Glint lightly on their spears;

Nor how the heron spurns the circling wave
And seeks the glowing bosom of the east,
And fades with speed majestical and grave
Through the ambrosial mist.

But in their sleep dead petals long since cast
Are woven with the unburst buds of hope;
They wander in the memories of the past
And towards the future grope.

'Tis said erstwhile a roaming shepherd chanced
To break the veil of leaves that binds their bower,
And one did start and on him fiercely glanced
And cried: "Is it the hour?"

But he fled forth and left no word behind—
No word save the low sigh of running rain
And wistful wailing of the autumn wind
Above the beaten grain.

ARTHUR LITTLE.

UNPUBLISHED IRISH POEMS.

VIII.—On a Blind Harper.

EDITED BY PROFESSOR OSBORN BERGIN, PH.D.

There is some uncertainty about the time when the author of the following poem lived. The O'Gnives are said to have been hereditary poets to the O'Neills of Clandeboy, and one of them accompanied Shane the Proud on his visit to the English court in 1562. This may be the reason why O'Reilly, in his "Irish Writers," gives 1556 as the floruit of Fear Flatha O Gnímh. But the poem to which he refers—*Mo thruaighe mar táid Gaoidhil* ("Alas for the state of the Gaels")—implies that the Irish cause had been utterly lost, and other poems ascribed to him point to events of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. In O'Curry's copy of O'Reilly's work, now in my possession, there is a marginal note in O'Curry's hand correcting the date to "About 1640. See his poem on Niclás Dall, the Harper." There are two poems on Blind Nicholas. One is in the Book of the O'Conor Don, transcribed in Ostend in 1631. The other is here edited from four MSS. in the library of the Royal Irish Academy—E.V. 5 (E), F.IV. 1 (F), F.VI. 2 (F), and 23 G. 20 (G). Unfortunately the variants are of little help in restoring the very inaccurate text, for the MSS., belonging to the end of the eighteenth and the first part of the nineteenth century, are all in the handwriting of one scribe, Micheál Og O Longáin. I have normalized the text, and silently corrected obvious misspellings.

OSBORN BERGIN.

Fear Flatha O Gnímh cc.

1. A Niocláis, nocht an gcláirsigh[1]!
léig imtheacht don fhuaráin-sin;
seinn ilcheóla naoidhe[2] anos,
faoidhe[3] ó n-imtheógha[4] m'fhiabhras.

2. Aisdrigh na slighthe seanma,
tráigh ar ttuile mímheanma,
coisgthe dheid[5] d'eólchaire inn,
leig don cheólchroidhe cuislinn.

3. Toigébhaid téda do chroinn
seól aigeanta d'aos mearbhaill;
lúth[6] na healbha ót ocht méraibh,
socht ar meanma moisgélaidh.[7]

[1] chlairseach etc. MSS. [2] núidhe GF, nuaidhe F[2]
[3] om. MSS. A rime with naoidhe is wanted. [4] nimtheóbha MSS. [5] déid MSS.
[6] lúith F[2], leth F, iath EG. [7] munsgéalaibh E., monsgéal—*cet.*

4. Mná ré n-iodhnaibh, aos galair,[1]
codlaid léd cheól síodhamhail ;
an tráth nochta[2] an gcruit[3] gcoraigh,[4]
luit chorcra ní cronaghair.[5]

5. Ní thabhair aon dá aire
an nasg do-ní an sgallaire,[6]
ré bruach bhar srotha seanma,
náid gotha cuach gCéiteamhna.

6. Cia an díthreabh nó an dionn[7] folaigh,
cia an síodh trá a ttarrabhair
barr do chara ar an gceól gcrot,
nárbh eól dá rabha romhat ?

7. An í[8] do mhúin díoghrais duit,
lámh Chraiftine an cheóil ordhruic,
siansa do mheóir ar mhodhaibh,
nó is[9] d'iarsma cheóil Chaschoraigh ?

8. Nó an gcualabhair cuid dár sheinn
an tí rug ó dhoilbh Doirinn,
lér lean sibh an séis bportaigh[10]
ó sin tar éis Abhartaigh ?

9. Nó an é fós fuarais d'oide
rí an chiúil, céile Bhláthnaide,
dá gcoimhchreideadh an fáidh Fionn,
tar bháigh oirfideadh Eireann ?

10. Nó an tnúth oirfideach oile
dá raibhe a tTír Tarngaire
do chuir as na síodhaibh sibh,
a ndíoghail do chuir chaoinchigh ?

---

[1] Mná re naoídheanaibh is galar MSS. [2] nochtfa F², nochtair *cet.*
[3] chruit MSS. [4] ccorch—G, chorcra *cet.* [5] cronathar G, cronachar *cet.*
[6] *sic* F², sgalghaire *cet.* [7] díon EF. [8] ní, nídh MSS.
[9] *Read* an (?). [10] phort, bhfort MSS.

11. Más don fhior as fhearr cridhe
gealltar an ghlóir ainglidhe,
fear do dhaigcridhe do dhligh
neamh, a Chraibhtine Chaisil.

12. Balsam cobhartha cédfadh,
liaigh don teidhm nach[1] taisbéntar,
cosg fiabhrasa ré bél mbáis,[2]
do mhér niamhdhasa, a Niocláis.

[1] ná MSS. [2] báis MSS.

Translation.

1. Nicholas, uncover the harp! Set free that cooling fountain. Play now many a novel strain, sounds[1] that will dispel my fever.
2. Travel the ways of music; make my flood of depression to ebb; keep me from melancholy; let the pulse throb from music's heart.
3. The strings of thy instrument[1a] will hoist the sail of courage for those that are bewildered, the vigour of the flock[1] from thy eight fingers will awaken the stupor of our spirit.
4. Women in travail and sick folk sleep at thy fairy music; when thou revealest the tuneful harp no man complains of crimson wounds.
5. No man gives heed to the tormentor's bond (?) on the brink of thy stream of melody, nor to the voices of the cuckoos of May.
6. In what wilderness or hidden fastness,[2] in what elfmound didst thou contrive to set a crown upon harp music unknown to all before thee?
7. Was it the hand of Craiftine,[3] that famous minstrel, that taught thee its secret, the melody of thy finger in measures, or is it come from the music of Caschorach?[4]
8. Or hast thou heard some of the playing of him who by guile won Doireann, whereby thou hast ever since followed the tuneful strain since the time of Abhartach?[5]
9. Or was the teacher thou didst find that king of music, Bláthnaid's mate,[6] in whom Fionn the prophet put faith, beyond love of all Erin's players?
10. Or was it the envy of all other players in the Land of Promise that banished thee from the elfmounds in revenge for thy musical note?
11. If the angelical glory is promised to him whose heart is best, the man with thy good heart has merited heaven, thou Craiftine of Cashel!
12. Balm to heal the senses, physician of the hidden sore, cure of fever at death's point—such is thy finger, O Nicholas.

[1] Text and translation doubtful.

[1a] There is a play on words in the original, which also means "the ropes of thy mast." [2] Or "shelter" reading *dion* with EF.

[3] The harper in the tale of Labhraidh Loingseach.

[4] Son of the minstrel of Tuatha Dé Danann. He plays before St. Patrick in the "Colloquy of the Ancients."

[5] One of the chiefs of Tuatha Dé Danann, famous for skill in music.

[6] Cnú Deireóil, the dwarf harper of the Fianna in the "Colloquy."

WHAT IS THE MATTER WITH INDIA?

BY T. GAVAN DUFFY.

Apostolic Missionary.

IT is the utmost folly or the utmost dishonesty (folly in the theorizing European who has never lived in India, and dishonesty in the shallow, brilliant Indian who bays the moon) to assert that upon the political issue depends the happiness of the people of that Peninsula.

I hold no brief for England; nor does, even, the principle of the justifiability of colonization by anybody anywhere carry much conviction to my mind; nor can I bring myself to regard the gift of administrative machinery, however altruistic in intention and efficient in performance, as anything but a wooden horse—and a bad substitute for natural evolution (even beset by growing-pains) towards political maturity. But I do declare most explicitly, as a Missioner who have lived among the Indian people in their towns and villages, and who love them and wish them all good things in this world and the next, that the problems which confront India, and upon the solution of which depends the happiness of her children, are not political but social.

It matters not a particle whether these hundreds of millions of illiterates be dragooned by the Mughals, or governed by the English, or exploited by the Brahmins, or left to the tender mercies of a restless feudalism, if all these possible forms of government are equally powerless or unwilling to effect social reform; and I claim further

that the people, the peasantry, the unlettered masses of India care not a copper *tambuli* who holds the reins of power, from the political standpoint; but whatever overlord effects (or promises even) the most sweeping social action is the one to whom the Indians will vow a blind ferocity of adherence. To the social question (and to the religious question, of which little will be said in the present article) the political question is, and must remain, subordinate.

To an agricultural population the main interest is the land. Now, in India, the uncertainty of land tenure by the immense population of land cultivators is the radical social evil.

Be it understood, in the first place, that the average peasant has not land enough to provide himself and his family with two meals of rice a day throughout the year. Usually, in the South at least, the scheme of his existence is as follows. In January he harvests his paddy (rice), and for several months lives with his family in the lap of luxury; his two bullocks grow fat on their fill of straw until, perhaps, the end of March. Then he and his wife and all the children that can work begin to go out daily to earn a few pennies at any kind of hard labour that the locality may offer, and they eat, at night, the wages of the day; one small child leads the bullocks out into the jungle to graze and grow lean among the cactus-thorns. Then comes the seasonable time for planting ground-nuts; this means many a day of unremunerative toil, during which they must borrow grain for food, and borrow also the grain they are to sow; and the ground-nut crop, when it is harvested, hardly ever as much as pays the debts. Meanwhile the work begins in the rice-fields; the peasant is out each morning before sunrise, irrigating; usually it takes three men to do this work, so that, if there are not three adults in the family, help must be obtained at the sacrifice of a percentage of the harvest; during this time the peasant comes home hungry,

sits down to some miserable mess concocted by his housewife from un-nourishing kickshaws picked up God knows where, and lies down to watch the heavens for the signs of rain.

I said that even for these ordinary necessities of life the farmer has recourse to the money-lender, the inevitable curse of the Indian village; this is undoubtedly a point in which legislation could intervene. Let me give some samples of the money-lender's methods, in illustration.

The simplest form of loan is that by which the farmer gets a straight fifty Rupees against a "bond" to hand over three *kalams* of paddy at the harvest. Now one *kalam* is worth six Rupees, making an interest of 36 per cent. No doubt, he may take it or leave it, as he is free to eat or starve. And the law honours this "bond."

There is no trickery in the above—only the diabolical heartlessness of paganism. But it is easy to draw an illiterate peasant into deeper snares. Rattinam needs five Rupees to purchase paddy to sow his field; he goes to Subbrayalu Chettiar and gets it (or its equivalent in paddy at the highest price, which is current in September when the sowing time comes round). Subbrayalu Chettiar lets him have five Rupees of paddy at three and a half measures to the Rupee ($= 17\frac{1}{2}$ measures), and makes him put his thumb-mark on a promise to repay the five Rupees in paddy, four months later, at harvest prices, plus one measure of paddy for each of the five Rupees. On the day when Rattinam cuts his crop, grain is selling at $4\frac{1}{2}$ measures to the Rupee; so that he will have to pay the Chettiar $4\frac{1}{2} + 1$ measures for each Rupee ($= 27\frac{1}{2}$ measures) —being an interest of 57 per cent. for four months, or of 171 per ceut. per annum.

Anyone who has lived in an Indian village will give you examples such as one that came under my notice last year, of a Pariah who borrowed twenty Rupees in 1912

and was compelled, in 1918, to pay one hundred and seventy-five Rupees; and even then the money-lender advertised his own charity throughout the neighbourhood, in that he had relinquished his claim on the capital altogether.

It may not be good law, but it certainly would be good common sense for the Government of such a country to sustain in its courts no claim for interest exceeding twelve per cent, whether in grain or cash. And if such a thing existed in India as an honest subordinate official, it would be further advisable to create Inspectors to look over the books of every licensed money-lender, with a view to the discovery of fraud and the suppression of usury. Nor should any debt be held to bind unless the contract stipulated for its payment in the presence of an official; for it is the commonest custom for illiterate borrowers to be handed false receipts, and then to be sued for a second payment of a debt, the first exacting of which already constituted an outrage on morality.

Such is the stress of normal daily life. But deaths and weddings will occur in the best-regulated households —and what then? It may be objected, from the arm-chair, that the usual expenditure for these occasions is excessive; but the arm-chair cannot alter the social exigencies recognized by countless generations; money, therefore, must be forthcoming at these times; and it can only come from the exclusive source, the money-lender again. Or a peasant's bullocks may grow old and die; he may be compelled to dig a well for irrigation; his house may be burned down; the rain may fail, and his year's income perish. It will then be necessary to borrow one or two or three hundred Rupees. And so it happens that every inch of land is mortgaged, sometimes twice and three times over; the rate of interest is such that no man ever frees himself from debt, but rather does the land inevitably fall, sooner or later, into the hands of the few castes that have solidarity enough to borrow

from none but their own men, to aid one another against all comers, and thus to become the exclusive capitalists of an entire country-side.

Against these evils Government has set the effort to create co-operative Banks. It is a laudable undertaking, but it does not solve the problem. Indeed, in many cases, these co-operative Banks only accentuate the misery of the shiftless and increase the revenues of the wily. For, although the Banks lend money, they lend it on the security of the land ; now, as above described, the ordinary peasant simply does not possess land that is unencumbered, whereas the money-lender does ; it follows that, in most instances, those whom the Banks are intended to relieve are either ousted altogether from its benefits or swamped into insignificance in its counsels, and that by the very men against whom the Banks are supposed to be defending them.

Again, the Banks are much too complicated. The Secretary has half a dozen books to keep ; a trained man alone being able to unravel them, the village money-lender or the nearest Government accountant is installed as Secretary—and who is to control his doings ? The Bank Inspector ? In all probability the Bank Inspector will be of the same caste as the Secretary . . . and so it goes.

Suppose now that the Bank be established for the exclusive use of the poorer ryots or of some outcaste community. What will happen ? In the first place, the Bank Inspector will invariably be a Brahmin or a member of an upper caste : he cannot drink a drop of water nor eat a grain of rice in the village of the " depressed " community ; consequently he will scamper through his work, give hurried explanations that nobody will understand, criticise bad management which is largely due to his own neglect and haste, and report to headquarters that the Bank is not doing well (which no doubt is true)—in the hope that it may promptly be withdrawn. And

even if it does subsist, it will not thrive, because it will necessarily work with the rigidity of all Western machines; it will call in interest at moments when the ryot has no ready cash; or it will fail him in a time of need; or it will prosecute him for his little mean arrears; and the ryot, in disgust, will borrow what he needs to redeem the Bank's entire claim upon him, and will trust to luck that his new creditor, while exacting a ten-fold interest, will be content to remind him a hundred times before expecting him to pay.

The term "depressed classes" (or "depressed castes") is much in vogue among those who seek to help the Indian. It includes, of course, the Pariahs and all kindred "untouchable" groups; it extends, in a word, to all those millions who, having no experience of a society in which all men are human beings, are incapable, by heredity, of desiring to be anything more than the princes of an under-world; social salvation must come to them from within, but the desire for it must be instilled from without, and it is the despair of all their would-be friends that they resent all efforts at equal intercourse, glory in their lowliness and have slavery in their blood; nor must the reader venture to correct my statement of this well-nigh incredible attitude of theirs until he has gone and seen and failed to conquer it. These "depressed" classes must be carefully distinguished from the "backward" classes; the latter name comprises all but the few castes whose greedy hand lies heavy on the land; the "backward" classes suffer social tyranny, but not, like the "depressed," the physical disabilities of ostracism; they are oppressed rather than depressed; and, above all, they have what the others lack, ambition and the will to rise.

Now it may be that such obvious measures as will save them from the land-sharks of their own race will suffice to put the "backward" classes on the road to more hopeful conditions of existence. But if anything is

to be done for the "depressed," who are not very much less numerous, it must include such action as is taken to save a child from the weakness of its own will. And, in particular, in regard to land, when they have a little plot, it should at least be made exempt from seizure by any creditor whatever, even if this creditor be the State. The only alternative is slavery, a sadly common case in India.

A Pariah's children are growing up; he borrows from a Chetty fifty Rupees to marry his eldest child; to pay this debt he loses his little field to the Chetty, even before the next child is ready to be married; to get another fifty Rupees, he undertakes to work in the Chetty's fields at a wage that seldom goes beyond the price of one meal of rice per day; and when the third child is of age, the eldest must sell himself to his father's master, to pay the wedding expenses of the younger—and so on, for there will usually be at least five children. It may easily be realized how to this entire family the Chetty's word is law (particularly in the matter of religion, by the way, or in the matter of sending the children to school instead of to graze the Chetty's cattle)—for on the Chetty and on him alone does every member of the family depend, from one meal to the next, for food.

How shamelessly these money-lending landed classes abuse their advantage over the under-dogs may be illustrated by the following incident of the year of grace 1919. There had been a War, and the price of everything had more than trebled; there had been a drought, and rice was very scarce; six annas a day would no longer keep a family in food. No one was building, and consequently there was no possibility of adventitious aid for the landless Pariah from any work besides that in the money-lender's fields—so that this estimable citizen was more than ever the sole hope of perhaps a dozen villages of Pariahs. Now, in the case I speak of, the money-lender and proud landlord of the country-side was the

high-priest of the Jain religion in Southern India. One day the local Missioner was riding out with the remnants of his larder, the scrapings of his purse, the dregs of his medicine-chest, and the Holy Oils, to assist the starving Pariahs decimated by influenza, cholera and small-pox. He met the Jain magnate, who stopped him, to pass the time of day (for the Missioner was a good doctor and it behoved the Jain to pile up friendly words against the day when he might need the white man's services). The latter spoke, from the fulness of his heart, of the sufferings of the poor Pariahs, of the distressful year and the black outlook. The Jain looked at him in blank amazement: "What black outlook? There had never been such a good year. If the Missioner had but a few acres of paddy-fields and a few thousand Rupees out at interest, he would not fail to see it. Why, this year, it was impossible for any Pariah to refuse to work: indeed he, the Jain, instead of paying his labourers the usual four annas for their daily labour, was paying them this year one anna; and they had either to accept or die. And, for his part, he most devoutly prayed that the 'black outlook' might last indefinitely."

You may say: "Why do not the 'depressed' classes emigrate?" They do, too many of them. But the Indian is a conservative, and he loves the spot where he was born. And emigration is, at best, a surgical operation and not a remedy; it is not an achievement, socially, but a tearing out of hearts.

It is this hand-to-mouth dependence of the Indian slave that makes the hopelessness of his condition. All the Jain's labourers, one might imagine, should strike together and let his fields lie fallow. But the Jain could hold out for a year at least, with last season's crop safe in his granary, whilst every Pariah would be dead within a month. How can they learn the strength of union under such conditions?

One might begin by teaching them self-respect. But,

for centuries, the outcaste has been condemned to build his hut outside the common village, to the leeward, so that the breath of heaven may not pass first across his roof, and thence go on to pollute the habitations of his betters; nor may he draw water from the common well, lest it be tainted by his vessel. He has one only privilege, one only honour—when a bullock dies in the village (of old age, even, or disease) he may (and must) take away the carcass, which no Hindu will touch, cut it up, divide it with his fellows, and eat it, though it be far gone in putrefaction. Indeed, in negociations for alliance between families by marriage, the first and foremost question is that which concerns the traditional, invariable share allotted by custom to the respective families in the carcasses of the village cattle. Vain indeed is the attempt to generate a sense of self-respect in people whose glory and whose honour lies in these low levels.

These are consecrated, well-nigh ineradicable traditions, stone walls that bar the road to progress. But there is one more modern artificial handicap, for which the existing administration must bear the blame, since it could be removed (if it were not lucrative) in one day. And that is *drink*. It is a Government rule (not always applied, far from it) that the village toddy-shop must be located at least a furlong from the nearest house—as if, forsooth, this paltry measure meant any protection, for the shilfteless outcaste, against the weakness of his will in face of a temptation so concrete and so physical. And thus it happens that the miserable daily pittance of the majority goes to drink, enriches one more class of profiteers, and fills the coffers of the State; and the mother and little children are fain to pick up, in separate slavery or in the gutters, a scanty living; so that what little share of family life the Indian ever had is scattered and the foundations of society torn up.

Nor have we, even yet, disclosed the deepest depths of Oriental degradation. The caste system admits of

pirate tribes, who live by theft. Can you incarcerate a tribe, or hang it? Obviously not. There are two ways in which the Government of India handles this uncomfortable legacy of a pagan civilization. There are settlements wherein lands and cattle, advice and supervision, are lavished on these criminals in the hope of reclaiming them to honesty. Far be it from me to condemn this effort; but it is all too evident that oftentimes these settlements simply become convenient bases for widespread depredations, and are a terror to the villages for twenty miles around. I am not claiming that I, or that a native government would meet this difficulty more effectively; I am only bringing cumulative evidence to my original contention that the Indian question is primarily social, not political.

The alternative scheme is to allow these tribes to wander and to beg, everywhere accompanied by the police. One day a messenger came running to me from a neighbouring Christian village, with the tidings that some hundreds of these nomads had arrived and were insisting that each family should buy them off with a measure of rice; the three policemen who were with them told my head-men that, if their demands were not met, the houses would probably be looted; the head-men, very wisely, sent for me, knowing that white skin has a value in such markets. Indeed, the policemen, before I could arrive at the full gallop of my horse to fight their claim, had induced the party to seek less dangerous pastures in a pagan village further on.

The chief difficulty of any Government in India is seen, by this example, to be the Indian-ness of its necessary subordinate officials. If it is proposed to force the big land-owners to sell out their reserves of paddy, the clerks sent to investigate will be generously induced to report that there are no reserves; if volunteers are wanted for the native army, the Indian recruiting officers will kidnap likely soldiers on the high road; if a survey

is taken, every farmer must sit, day and night, on the boundary-stones of his property and be prepared to pay more to have them left alone than his neighbour to have them moved. Do the authorities know these things? I cannot say. But, when they happen, as every one knows they do who lives in an Indian village, it is useless to report them because you are met with a call for proof—and you can never be sure that even the Indian peasants who have suffered thus at the hands of their own race and urged you to defend them, will not, when confronted with enquiry by the higher powers, deny the slightest knowledge of any such occurrence—generally because they fear the vengeance of the caste from which the author of their wrongs is sprung.

And so keenly is the English Government in India aware of the untrustworthiness of its own servants that it is eager to find outside help in its efforts for the social betterment of the people—with somewhat amusing results.

Recently it made known that it was desirous of helping on the "backward" classes by grants of land; anybody who was willing to manage a new settlement might apply for the alienation to himself by Government of waste lands to almost any extent; the Missions in particular were invited to establish settlements and to manage them. It was not even attempted to make Government settlements, presumably for the reason given above. Nor could they bring themselves to distribute land to the "backward" classes direct, because they knew that the land would promptly be mortgaged to the rich. To repress the money-lender was not the custom; to vest the land inalienably in the settlers was useless, unless implements and cattle were to be provided for a long period of years. And so it was conveniently suggested that the Missions should manage the affair.

The offer was worded as if Government were tendering us a great advantage. In the conditions, every safeguard was provided against possible grasping of the land by us.

We were to be responsible for the land-tax as well as, in general, for the success of the enterprise, but could neither set apart a fraction of the land to build a village for the settlers, nor demand a penny from the people to meet the taxes, without explicit permission in each case from the authorities.

Individual officials were found who agreed that we were being dragged into a whirlpool of worries as if we were being bidden to a wedding; but when they drafted just conditions, that would allow us to exercise our judgement in the choice of permanent settlers and would enable us to carry on the work in a statesmanlike manner without the nagging of official control, Government head-quarters refused their sanction, and negociations ended. Perhaps it was unchristian on our part to refuse to do other people's dirty work in any but our own way; but we felt that, while entirely willing to devote time, already over-burdened, to the social needs of India, we should insist on that liberty of action without which even such great achievements as the Church has shown along these lines in Paraguay and elsewhere in the past would have been impossible. To accept the management of land for such a purpose is to do and not receive a favour; and if the existing Government cannot handle the problem without the Church, it has but two alternatives, that of acknowledging its powerlessness and yielding the place to some other, or that of accepting our help on our own terms.

In truth, however, salvation must come from within and not from without in matters that come so close to the nature of a race of men; there are those who say the same of political salvation, but of social salvation none assuredly can deny it.

The Missioner's influence is then all to the good; for, though it may be wielded by a foreigner, it reaches down to the springs of action and can mould habits that will conquer in the long run; and it truly constitutes an

action from within, since it tends to create a race of responsible, moral people, working towards the substitution for pagan selfishness of the altruistic principles which underlie the social conquests of Christianity.

Now the Missioner can act by many means, but there is none more potent than the school. In the first place, the mere fact of literacy will be a step towards overcoming many of the disabilities suggested in the course of these few pages. If the peasant knows how to read and write, he will not be forced to sign "bonds" he cannot understand, nor to accept untrue receipts; a little arithmetic will put him on his guard against apparently harmless and actually murderous rates of interest; co-operative Banks may flourish, if manned by more educated officials in better instructed villages. And also, in general, a little learning will be the parent of that necessary modicum of ambition without which the "depressed" classes are well-nigh irredeemable.

Schools, then, are the Missioner's best contribution to the solving of India's problem (as they are the basis of all apostolic effort everywhere). In India, as in all the Missions, the development of this work of the schools is waiting on the charity of the home folk, who are too apt to leave their representatives in heathen lands unsupported, and to be content with abstract theories on the government of India, when they might be substantially assisting the Indian people towards at least that minimum of social freedom without which no government is possible and no life worth living.[1]

T. Gavan Duffy.

Pondicherry,
India.

---

[1] In a future article I hope to substantiate the statement that "Schools are the Missioner's best contribution to the solving of India's problem." Some idea of tneir need may be gathered from the common estimate that only nine per cent of men and three per cent. of women have the rudiments of Education.

SPIRITUALISM AND ITS DANGERS.

BY HERBERT THURSTON, S.J.

Part II.[1]

IT does not seem easy to ascertain precisely when and under what conditions spiritualism first took shape as a recognised form of belief, whether we call it a religion, a philosophy, a revelation, or merely a theory. The point is of no particular importance, and it is sufficient to say that in 1852, if not in 1851, two or three years after the mysterious rappings at Hydesville, which brought fame to the Fox sisters, "Spiritualism" and "Spiritualists" were already freely discussed under these names in the newspaper press of the United States. The only matter which I wish to emphasize is the fact that from the outset the spirits were prolific in magniloquent promises regarding the new era which was dawning upon the world. The bulky work of Edmonds and Dexter, of which the first part appeared in 1853, supplies a number of examples. Here are a few concise specimens of the language used in the automatic script taken down by Judge Edmonds and his partner in the course of 1852 :—

> The human mind thus prepared for its advent, this new dispensation [*i.e.*, Spiritualism] comes to supply the want to the countless thousands who are now slumbering in indifference or toiling in infidelity. . . . . There is joy in heaven at the opening of this new intercourse with man. The spirits there never tire,

[1] Part I. appeared in last (September) issue.

never rest. Be ye like them. Go on. Heaven shall crown your efforts. . . . Doctor [Dexter], there is one thing certain. Our work, your work, is of more importance than you can at present realize. Spirits of higher position than any with whom you have had intercourse are to teach you through me and also personally to influence your hand. . . . The day is dawning when the truth will gird up its loins and travel with speed through the world. You are its avant-guards. You are its companions.[1]

But others among the pioneers of the new movement were honoured with similar messages. Dr. Robert Hare, a really distinguished man of science, who was Professor of Chemistry in the University of Pennsylvania, received a communication which purported to have been signed by a number of eminent men in the spirit world, including George Washington, J. Q. Adams, Dr. Chalmers, etc., and which contained such sentences as the following :—

Could you see the great glory which is to be the issue of your labours in the new unfoldings of spiritual science, you would not despair of your mission nor weary in your devotion to it . . . . Go on in your searchings, our good friend ; the end is not yet with you. Brilliant minds with brilliant thoughts are burning to give utterance to earth through you. You are a selected instrument of our choosing, and we are watching and guiding you in the path and to the goal you seek.

Those familiar with modern spiritualistic literature will be aware that the same type of message, addressed to the author of *Raymond* and other kindred enthusiasts, is still very prevalent. Through spirit intercourse, we are assured, the world is going to be fashioned anew ; mourning for our dear ones and the fear of death itself will soon be banished for ever. No doubt this is a very consoling prospect, but if we may judge the future by the past it does not seem that we have much reason to put confidence in prophecies of this kind, from whatever source they come. Still the anticipations so confidently

[1] Edmonds and Dexter, *Spiritualism*, I., pp. 48, 63, 67 ; II., p. 278.

[2] Robert Hare, *Experimental Investigation of the Spirit Manifestations* (New York, 1856), Preface p. 12.

expressed some seventy years ago that the new revelation was about to inaugurate a golden age lends a certain interest to the inquiry outlined in the three headings left over from my previous article. They deal mainly with spiritualism in its practical results, and it is this aspect of the subject, as tested by the experience of nearly three quarters of a century, which claims our attention at present.

III.

In the summary statement of the grounds for condemning Spiritualism previously set before the reader, the third heading runs as follows :—

"That systems of religious belief are assumed or expounded by the spirits, which, while often mutually contradictory, are nearly always subversive of Catholic teaching."

That this contention is fully justified, will hardly be disputed by anyone who possesses even a superficial acquaintance with the literature of the subject. In the United States and in England a certain religious conservatism, as well as the vagueness of the prevailing theology, prevented the antagonism between the new movement and Christian teaching from proclaiming itself too obtrusively, at any rate in early years. There was a general trend amongst leading spiritualists towards Swedenborgian views ; but the majority were attracted only by the physical phenomena and by the supposed communications from their departed friends. Of a formulated system of spirit teaching regarding the relations between this world and the next we find comparatively little, and that little was by no means enthusiastically received or widely disseminated. In France, and on the continent generally, it was otherwise. It would hardly be too much to say that as early as 1857 the movement there was captured by a single individual, who provided it both with a text-book, or rather a series of text-books, and a

press organ, *La Revue Spirite*, which secured a practical monopoly in the field of such discussions. This individual, Léon H. D. Rivail, better known by his pseudonym of Allan Kardec, dying in 1869 and buried in the cemetery of Père-Lachaise, is described, not without reason, on his tomb-stone as "Fondateur de la Philosophie Spirite." All that need concern us here is the fact that this philosophy, which he expounded in nearly a dozen different books[1] and which he professed to derive from the communications made to him by all sorts of illustrious spirits in the other world, is at every turn in acute conflict with the teaching of the Catholic Church. Jesus Christ was a man in whose body one of the highest spirits became incarnate, the Trinity and the other mysteries of the Christian creeds are mere fictions, there is no such thing as everlasting punishment, and so on. Allan Kardec seems seriously to have believed that he was entrusted with a great mission by the powers on high. The revelation of which he was the mouthpiece was comparable with, and the fulfilment of, those of Moses and Jesus Christ.[2] Religion as it actually existed in the world was corrupt and it had to be swept away. Hence we find him recording spirit utterances couched in such terms as these :—

> Spiritism is called upon to play an immense part in human affairs. This it is which will reform our legislation, at present so often in conflict with the laws of God. This it is which will restore the religion of Christ now degraded by the priests into a commercial speculation and a vile form of traffic. It will set up the real religion, natural religion, that which springs from the heart and goes straight to God, without being intercepted by the skirts of a canock or the steps of an altar.[3]

[1] The first and best-known of these was *Le livre des Esprits*, of which the 52nd edition was published in 1912. Other popular works, widely circulated and translated, were *Le livre des Médiums* and *L'Evangile selon le Spiritisme*. See the admirable account of Kardec and his system given by Lucien Roure, S.J., in *Le Merveilleux spirite*, Paris, 1917.

[2] For all this the reader may be referred to Roure, *Le Merveilleux spirite*, pp. 11-18, 290-336, who gives references.

[3] L. H. D. Rivail, *Œuvres Posthumes* (1912), p. 343. This spirit communication appears to have been received 15th April, 1860.

But that which was and is most characteristic of Kardecian spiritism—the form of spiritism, I repeat, which has been adopted almost universally on the continent—is its affirmation of the doctrine of reincarnation. This belief, explicitly taught by the spirits to Kardec, is just as explicitly rejected on spirit authority by the majority of spiritualists in England and America. The contradiction, so absolutely fatal to belief in the trustworthiness of spirit guidance, has not passed unremarked by rationalist critics, even those who are themselves fully convinced of the reality of both the physical and psychic phenomena of mediumship. It would not be easy to put the case more clearly and forcibly than has been done by Professor Charles Richet, the distinguished physiologist of Paris.

Unfortunately for spiritism [he writes], an objection which seems to me irrefutable, can be made to the spirits' teaching. In all parts of Europe the spirits vouch for reincarnation. Often they indicate the moment they are going to reappear in a human body ; and they relate still more readily the past avatars of their followers. On the contrary, in England the spirits assure us that there is no reincarnation. The contradiction is formal, positive and irreconcilable. Those who are inclined to doubt the correctness of what I affirm have only to glance through and compare the writings of English and French spiritists ; for example those of Allan Kardec, Denys, Delanne and those of Stainton Moses. How are we to form an opinion worthy of acceptance ? Which speak the truth ? European spirits or Anglo-Saxon spirits ? Probably spiritistic messages do not emanate from very well-informed witnesses. Such is the conclusion arrived at by Aksakoff, one of the cleverest and most enlightened of spiritists. He himself acknowledges that one is never certain of the communicating identity at a spiritistic sitting.[1]

That the divergence among spiritualists upon the reincarnation question is not overstated will be clear to

[1] C. Richet (Professor of Physiology in the Faculty of Medicine, Paris), in his Preface to Maxwell's *Metaphysical Phenomena* (Eng. Trans.), pp. 7-8. Prof. Richet also says : " I am neither spiritist, nor theosophist, nor occultist. I do not believe in occult sciences, nor in the supernatural, nor in miracles," p. 13.

anyone who studies the periodical literature of spiritualism during the year 1875 when Miss Blackwell published a translation of Kardec's *Spirits' Book.*[1] Curiously enough one of the arguments used by the English school to discredit the reincarnation doctrine was the allegation (so far as I know, quite unfounded) that Allan Kardec before he took up these views "belonged to the College of Jesuits," that he had acted under their instigation, and that "they were delighted at the schism he had made among spiritualists by a doctrine which had been selected because of its absurdity"[2] While language of this kind may serve to illustrate the mentality of many anti-Kardecists, it would clearly be waste of time to discuss such rubbish seriously.

But although the spiritualist attitude in England and America was not at the beginning openly hostile to the creeds, it is impossible to make even a slight study of their literature during the first five and twenty years without perceiving that even in Anglo Saxon countries the tide was setting strongly in a direction hostile to all Christian revelation. The case of Mr. Stainton Moses who, under spirit guidance, renounced his orders in the Church of England and taught a vague theism which excluded belief in the Incarnation, etc., was typical of many others. The opposition between spirit teaching and the dogmas of Christianity manifested itself almost from the beginning. Judge Edmonds, though his sympathies were apparently Swedenborgian, did not attempt to conceal his disbelief in the Divinity of Jesus Christ.

The spirits [he writes] who were engaged in this work told me at an early day that they were determined now to avoid the error which they had fallen into 1800 years ago, and would not now, as

---

[1] See for example *The Medium*, Aug. 13 and Aug. 27, 1875, pp. 522 and 552.

[2] *The Spiritualist Newspaper* June 18th, 1875, p. 289, and *The Spiritual Magazine* June 1875, p. 262.

in those days, concentrate all their powers in one person, so as by their marvellous character to induce an uninstructed age to worship man instead of God.[1]

Another representative spiritualist of high character, Robert Dale Owen, writing in the *Atlantic Monthly* for December 1874, stated that spiritualism disavows all such dogmas as the following :—

> That all men and women are originally depraved, therefore objects of God's anger, and that they can be justified before Him only by the blood of one of the persons of the Godhead, to wit Jesus Christ, who was made to bear, and doomed to suffer for, the sins of the human race . . . That God permits a personal devil to roam the earth, seeking whom he may deceive and bring to ruin body and soul.[2]

Without discussing details of terminology, the general purpose of such a repudiation is plain enough. No doubt there was a party of " Christian Spiritualists," who from time to time protested against such expressions of opinion as those just quoted, but the more prominent and active adherents of the movement belonged to the " progressive " section, and the Christianity even of the right wing was of an extremely vague and hesitating kind.[3] So far as I am able to ascertain, the attitude of almost all the English-speaking spiritualists who have concerned themselves with the deeper issues of this new revelation was and remains irreconcilably anti-Catholic, if not anti-Christian. It would be easy to multiply illustrations, but I will content myself with a few sentences culled from an address delivered before the Dialectical Society in 1873 by a then well-known spiritualist, Mr. T. H. Noyes. He was replying to a paper entitled " Spiritualism, the new Superstition," and even in those

---

[1] Edmonds, *Letters and Tracts on Spiritualism* (1874), p. 344.

[2] *The Atlantic Monthly*, Dec. 1874, p. 729.

[3] Those who care to pursue the subject will find much interesting material in the *Medium*, Oct., 1875, and in the *Spiritual Magazine*, Nov., 1875.

mid-Victorian days he claimed that both the spirits and the mass of his fellow-believers supported him in such sentiments as the following :—

> I know that we have spirit friends who are permitted to disabuse our minds of many fallacies which a corrupt priestcraft has taught us to reverence under the guise of religion. . . . . Spiritualism claims to be a new revelation, iconoclastic of all superstition, and bids fair to extinguish the fungoid growths that have obscured the pristine lights of all former revelations, and claims to supplement and illumine them by its own electric rays. . . . . It abolishes for ever the deified devil of the Hebrews, the bloodthirsty god of vengeance, dealing in damnation and hell-fire, the creator of human fuel for eternal flames. . . . . It abolishes the supernatural and extends the realm of nature and the reign of law to the invisible world. . . . . It abolishes at one fell swoop the theology of the schoolmen, and the dogmas of the schools, and the mischievous absurdities of such formularies as the Athanasian Creed. It dethrones the blind idol of theological faith, and sweeps away the marvellous delusion of the orthodox, that belief in fictions is essential to salvation. . . . . What wonder then that it is denounced by Bibliolaters and the devotees of the devil, scouted by priests and scoffed at by men of science, all as interested in the preservation of their private preserves and ancient monopolies as were the initiated of the sacred mysteries of old.[1]

Let me only add under this head that if the Church claims the right to inhibit the circulation of heretical or morally dangerous literature among her faithful adherents, she has every reason to include the great bulk of alleged spirit utterances under the same condemnation. The very fact that they profess to emanate from intelligences whose range of vision has been enlarged by their emancipation from the trammels of bodily existence must tend to give these messages a mischievous importance in the eyes of simple folk who are incapable of seriously investigating the problems involved.

---

[1] *The Spiritualist Newspaper*, Dec. 12, 1873, p. 459. So far as I can discover none of the readers of the journal protested against this language.

IV.

If the unorthodoxy of spirit communications is a matter which touches hardly any but Catholics, their mutual contradictions over so fundamental a point as reincarnation is evidently of much wider import. When one set of spirits declare that the soul of man released from its tenement of clay returns to earth over and over again to occupy new bodies, and other spirits of equal authority maintain the exact contrary, it is plain that such disclosures are utterly worthless as a source of guidance in those things which it most concerns us to be sure about. The disagreement on this point between Anglo-Saxon and Continental spirits[1] seems to be just as far from a settlement to-day as it was at Allan Kardec's death, fifty years ago. Surely in this fact alone we have warrant for saying that the new revelation, which promised so much to the generation of Edmonds and Hare and Owen, has been barren of practical results. If the spirits cannot tell us whether the disembodied soul returns to earth again—or rather, what is far worse, tell us with assurance contradictory things—what information can they give which a level-headed man can trust as even a betting probability about any question of fact whatever. In the early days anticipation ran high regarding the flood of light which spirit intercourse was destined to shed on the problems of physical science. Not a score of years had passed before the same type of spiritualists were ready to admit that this hope was nugatory. In a leading article in *The Spiritualist Newspaper* for November 1st, 1873, this avowal is already made in the clearest terms. I hope I may be pardoned a rather long quotation. The writer begins by saying :—

> The power of clairvoyance to see scenes hundreds of miles away and the faculty conferred upon trance mediums of revealing truths [? reincarnation] relating to the life hereafter, naturally raise hopes

[1] Those who are interested in the matter may read with advantage the discussion n the *Spiritualist Newspaper* in the latter part of 1875, pp. 74, 103, 117, 143, 314, &c.

of the noblest description in the breasts of novices in spiritualism. Here, think they, is a key, which, when properly applied, will give to man a true and unquestionable religion; here is a power wherewith we shall be enabled to establish communication with residents in other planets. . . . With prolonged experience these natural anticipations are damped. . . . The novice soon becomes aware that a proportion of clairvoyant revelations are unreliable, and that trance revelations are coloured more or less, quite unconsciously, by the mind of the medium, or at least by the organs of expression of that mind.

Referring to certain trance utterances on scientific matters which had emanated from two well-known mediums, Mrs. Tappan and Mr. Morse, the writer declares that :—

As in the case of revelations about physical things given through all the trance mediums we have ever met as yet, truth and error, reliability and unreliability, were intimately blended. . . . A long time ago, Mr. Morse, while in the trance state, was questioned about the sun, and gave plenty of information opposed to facts which physical science proves to be true. It appears to be an illegitimate thing to question departed spirits about material problems which we ought to solve for ourselves; it would be a bad thing if spirits returned to earth to relieve men from the trouble of using their own brains, or to teach inquirers how to make money. . . . . At all events the Koons family in America, and nearly all persons who have trusted to spirit guidance in commercial matters have been brought to commercial ruin. . . . .

It would be a hardship to the honestly industrious if media could outstrip them in the revealing of truth by simply going to sleep and permitting other intelligent beings to use their material organism. This may be one reason why neither trance nor clairvoyance has yet made one single addition to human knowledge of physics of any practical value.[1]

This was written nearly half a century ago, at a time when quite a number of books were being published embodying spirit communications, which professed to throw light on the dark places of history, science and literature. For example Professor Dexter, the geologist, published three volumes dealing with the palæontology

[1] *The Spiritualist Newspaper*, Nov. 1st, 1873, pp. 371-373.

of our own earth and illustrating the conditions of life upon the other planets. His materials were mainly supplied by spirit communications obtained through mediums, but even in the opinion of his fellow spiritualists the book was not convincing. The same journal from which I have just quoted took occasion to affirm once more: "So far as our experience of trance mediumship is concerned, its statements relating to physical science have been altogether unreliable and mischievously deceiving, nor has any new discovery in physics ever been given to the world from this source."[1]

In 1873 a great boom in all the spiritualist press of England and America announced that Dickens' unfinished novel *The Mystery of Edwin Drood* was being completed by the novelist himself from the spirit world through an American medium. Madame Blavatsky—this was before her Theosophist days—was greatly impressed and translated the whole into Russian. The book, however, has never found a single champion among Dickens experts, and the highest authority on the subject has written of it:—

> Judgment on this egregious production is in no way influenced by belief or disbelief in occult phenomena. The work is self-condemned by its futility, illiteracy and hideous American mannerisms; the mystery itself becomes a nightmare and the solution only deepens the obscurity.[2]

Just about the same time Signor Damiani, a vehement reincarnationist, writing in defence of this doctrine to the *Spiritual Magazine*, puts forward the following strange argument:—

> Over and over again have we been told with great assurance that reincarnation is only taught by low, ignorant, or mischievous spirits. I have before me a volume containing 24,130 lines, printed at Parma, and dictated there by the spirit of Ariosto to a medium who has never written a verse in his life. It is a description of the scenery and life in the spheres and in style and language so

[1] *The Spiritualist Newspaper*, July, 1875, p. 3.

[2] J. Cuming Walters, *The Complete Mystery of Edwin Drood* (1912), p. 217.

grand and sublime as would of itself give renown to the literature of any idiom. . . . Medium Del Giudice, of this town, has just completed under spirit dictation a most voluminous Encyclopædia, embodying such advanced views in all the branches of human learning as to make his spirit guides forbid its publication in the benighted times we live in. . . . . Can these be tricks of low, ignorant, or mischievous spirits? For it is through these same spirits, one and all, that we are taught reincarnation as an integral part of the spiritual philosophy."[1]

The argument of Signor Damiani, a man otherwise of some note and of undoubted ability, is a little unfortunate, for Ariosto's spirit poem has been accepted by no Italian critic worthy of the name.[2] But it is everywhere the same story, the spirits who profess to communicate through mediums or automatic writing never by any chance impart information which can be of use to mankind at large. If there were any real foundation for the belief that the beings in the other world, possessing an almost boundless range of knowledge and the kindliest goodwill, have the power to communicate with living mortals, what endless services they might render in solving the problems of past history, in directing the researches of scientists, in preventing the miscarriage of justice. But in point of fact we get nothing but endless deceptions and futilities. As Mr. H. D. Jencken (who was the husband of Katie Fox, the earliest medium of modern spiritualism) declared after many years experience, "the vast majority of the messages given through strong physical mediumship are objectless lies." Moreover the Editor of *The Spiritualist*, in quoting this, adds of his own accord: [3] "We are sorry to say that other persons intimately acquainted with the facts of strong physical mediumship have, as a general rule, had similar experience."

[1] *The Spiritual Magazine*, Dec. 1875, p. 567.

[2] My friend Dr. Edmund Gardner, Professor of Italian in the University of Manchester, and author of *Ariosto and the Court Poets of Ferrara*, whom I consulted, had never even heard of this supposed masterpiece.

[3] *The Spiritualist*, Dec. 31, 1875, p. 314.

And against all the evil consequences of these disappointments and deceptions, against this atmosphere of doubt and imposture and puerilities, we have nothing to set except the fact that some few sceptics have had their belief in a future life strengthened by what seemed to them satisfactory proof of the existence of a world of spirits, and that some few mourners have been consoled in their sorrow by the conviction that they were once more in communication with the dear ones they had lost. It may be doubted whether the consolation thus resulting is commonly of a very permanent nature. Experience shows, I fear, that in too many cases while the craving for fresh assurance grows ever stronger, the evidence supplied by the mediumistic séance grows more and more faint. Doubts begin to awaken, and the resulting anguish of mind is bitter indeed.

I hope in a concluding article to deal with the last point of my summary, the directly harmful effects of spiritualism as revealed in the everyday experience of its many victims.

HERBERT THURSTON.

THE IRISH LAW OF DYNASTIC SUCCESSION.

BY EOIN MACNEILL.

Professor of Early Irish History, University College, Dublin.

Part II.[1]

IN the preceding section of this paper, I have stated the argument and inference from which it appears that eligibility to an Irish kingship did not extend beyond the *derbfine* of a king who had already reigned. I have now to supply in detail the evidence of relationship, furnished by the annals and genealogies, between persons designated *rígdomna* (*regis materia*) in the annals and persons who actually reigned.

The evidence would be complete if, along with this, the actual list of kings in each dynasty were set forth, with the degree of kinship of each king to his most nearly related predecessor. In the case, however, of most of the dynasties, complete lists do not exist, and to compile them, if it were at all possible, would often be a very laborious task. Moreover it must be borne in mind that in Ireland, as in other countries, succession to kingship did not always follow the smooth course of law. It is remarkable enough that in the highkingship for nearly three centuries, with a single break, as shown below, and in the kingship of Leinster for more than three centuries without any break, as shown already, the law of succession was observed. But in each case these long periods of

[1] Part I. appeared in last (September) issue.

lawful succession were followed by periods of irregular succession. The course of the highkingship after A.D. 1002 is set forth in many books. In the Leinster dynasty, the period of triplex order which I have tabulated is followed by one in which kings of Ossory break in with the strong hand, their connection with the chief dynasty of Leinster being one of remote traditional antiquity; and in which the kings of Ui Cennselaig, the last of them being Diarmait Mac Murchada, recover by force an authority from which their lineage had been parted for centuries. If intrusion from so great a distance was possible, we may well suppose that a claimant who was only a generation or two removed from lawful eligibility might sometimes muster force enough to enforce his claim, as did Brian O'Neill in 1241. Such instances show that the actual succession has less evidential value on the subject under discussion than the instances of *rígdomna*, a term implying lawful eligibility and no more. Again, a number of the dynasties ruled over groups of kingdoms, and the chief king was, of course, the most powerful king of the group. In general the rank of chief king (*ruiri*) belonged to a single kingdom in each group; but all dynasties have their ups and downs, and so we find that the chief kingship occasionally shifts from one to another dynasty within the group. This involves a departure from the law of succession according to kinship. Accordingly, I have confined my examination to the instances of *rígdomna*, in which the element of lawful eligibility is essential and indisputable.

The first set of instances belong to the highkingship. It should be observed that during the ninth and tenth centuries, and earlier,—in fact from 734 until 1002,—the highkingship was held by a duplex dynasty. It alternated regularly between the kings of Cenél Eoghain (also called kings of Ailech, or of "the Fochla," or of "the Tuaiscert" —Fochla and Tuaiscert both meaning the North) and the kings of Mide (also called kings of Uisnech, their family

Cland Cholmáin). This alternation was only once interrupted before Brian became high-king. In 944, when the high-king Donnchad, of the line of Mide, died, his successor by the custom of alternation should have been Domnall Ua Neill, the first recorded bearer of that surname, king of Ailech. But at that juncture, the chief power in the North belonged to Ruaidri Ua Canannáin, king of Tír Conaill; and Domnall, occupied also with the Norsemen who infested Loch Neagh, was unable to assert his claim to the monarchy. Congalach, king of Brega, of the line of Aed Sláine, which had not shared in the high-kingship since 728, allied himself with the king of Leinster, won a striking success over the Norsemen of Dublin, drew their king, Olaf Cuaran, to his assistance against Ruaidri, and so became recognised as king of Ireland. When Congalach fell in 956 fighting against his former allies, Leinster and the Norsemen, Domnall Ua Neill made good his claim and the alternate monarchy was restored. The title of *rígdomna Erenn*, "kingmaterial of all Ireland," is thus found in four lines, first in the alternating lines of Ailech and Uisnech, then after Congalach's time in his posterity, and finally among the descendants of Brian Bórama, king of Ireland, from 1002 till 1014.

The titles *rígdomna Erenn* ("of Ireland") and *rígdomna Temrach* ("of Tara") do not appear to have been exactly synonymous. *Rígdomna Temrach* may imply, and in some instances clearly does imply, no more than eligibility to the kingship of Mide or of Brega; but since in other instances the intention appears doubtful, I have thought it best to group all the examples together.

Abbreviations :—AU=Annals of Ulster. T=Annals of Tigernach. m=mac, "son." h=hua, ua, "grandson." rd=rígdomna. k=king. k. I.=king of Ireland. s.o.=son of. The sign + precedes death-dates.

Rigdomna Erenn, Rigdomna Temrach.

901. Mael Ruanaid, rd. Erenn. Son of Flann Sinna, k. I.

915. Oengus, rd. Temrach. Grandson of Mael Sechnaill, k. I.

919. Conchobor rd. Temrach. Grandson of Mael Sechnaill, k. I.

921. Mael Sechnaill, rd. Temrach. Grandson of Flann, k. I.

950. Ruaidri Ua Canannáin rd. Erenn. No ancestor of his for more than two centuries had been k. I. The title, which seems to be a gloss in AU, doubtless implies that Ruaidri, k. of Tír Conaill, in virtue of the headship he had gained in the North, claimed the succession to the monarchy as chief king of the Northern Ui Néill against the interloper Congalach (see above). He had in fact been engaged in a campaign of six months against Mide and Brega when he fell in battle with the Norsemen.

952. Domnall, rd. Temrach. Son of Donnchad, k. I.

964. Muirchertach, rd. Temrach. Son of Congalach, k. I.

975. Domnall, rd. Temrach. Son of Congalach, k. I.

977. Muirchertach, rd. Erenn. Son of Domnall, k. I.

977. Congalach, rd. Erenn. Grandson of Congalach, k. I.

991. Donnchad, rd. Temrach. Grandson of Congalach, k. I.

1013. Donnchad, rd. Temrach. Greatgrandson (?) of Congalach, k. I.

1017. Oengus, rd. Temrach. Grandson of Flann, k. I.

1017. Donnchad, rd. Erenn. Greatgrandson of Congalach, k. I.

1021. Aed, rd. Temrach. Grandson of Mael Sechnaill, k. I.

1022. Muirchertach, rd. Temrach. Greatgrandson of Flann, k. I.

1026. Roen, rd. Erenn (T). He was k. of Mide, and apparently grandson of Mael Sechnaill, k. I.

1033. Aed, rd. Erenn. Greatgrandson of Domnall, k. I.

1036. Domnall, rd. Temrach. Grandson of Mael Sechnaill, k. I.

1042. Flann, rd. Erenn. Son of Mael Sechnaill, k. I.

1047. MacDonnchada Guit ("the son of Donnchad Got"), rd. Temrach (T). I cannot trace his descent. Got[1] "stammering" was the hereditary nickname of a branch of the dynasty of Mide descended from the elder Mael Sechnaill k. I. Two members of this branch, Mael Sechnaill Got and Domnall Got, reigned as kings of Mide, after the death of the second Mael Sechnaill, k. I.

1058. Gallbrat Ua Cerbaill, rd. Temrach. I cannot trace his descent, but Flann Sinna, k. I., had a son and also a grandson named Cerball either of whom may have been ancestor of Gallbrat. This name means "foreign spoil," and is here almost certainly a byname.

1059. Congalach Ua Riacáin, rd. Temrach. I cannot trace his descent, but there was a Mathgamain Ua Riacáin, k. of Brega, +1032.

1078. Conchobor Ua Briain, rd. Erenn (T). Greatgrandson of Brian Bórama, k. I.

---

[1] Perhaps the word was adopted in mimicry of the Norse or Anglo-Saxon word for "god" or for "good." Of similar import, denoting rapid stumbling utterance, is the modern adjective *brictach*, apparently derived from *Britt*, "a Briton."

1084. Cennétig "macBriain," rd. Erenn (T). Greatgrandson of Brian Bórama, k. I.

1105. Conchobor "m. Mael Sechlainn," rd. Temrach (AU), "h. Mael Sechlainn, *maic* Concobuir, .i. rí Midhi" (T). Probably Conchobor m. Mael Sechlainn m. Conchobuir m. Domnaill m. Mael Sechlainn (the second, k. I.) whose pedigree is in BB 80. The gloss in T. indicates that he was greatgrandson of Conchobor k. of Mide (+1073).

1115. Mael Sechnaill m. Domnaill h. Mael Sechnaill, rd. Temrach. Greatgrandson of Mael Sechnaill II., k. I.

1119. Niall, rd. Erenn. Son of Domnall Ua Lochlainn, k. I.

1141. Art h. Mael Sechnaill, rd. Temrach. Descent not traced.

1170. Conchobor, rd. Erenn. Son of Muirchertach Ua Lochlainn, k. I.

Here, in 25 instances in which the pedigree has been traced, 8 are sons, 10 grandsons, and 7 greatgrandsons of kings of Ireland or of Mide.

Three sons of Niall of the Nine Hostages, Eogan, Conall, and Enda, took possession of a territory in western Ulster, probably about the time (A.D. 429) when their brother Loeguire became king of Ireland. The dynastic families that sprang from them, Cenél n-Eogain, Cenél Conaill, and Cenél nEndai, became known collectively as Ui Néill in Tuaiscirt, "Niall's descendants of the North," "the Northern Ui Néill," in contradistinction to the descendants of Niall whose possessions lay in Mide and Brega and who were called Ui Néill in Deiscirt, "the Southern Ui Néill."

Ailech, a prehistoric stone fortress, became the seat of the kings of Cenél nEogain[1]. In the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, the headship of the Northern Ui Néill was held at times by the king of Cenél nEogain, at times by the king of Cenél Conaill; for the kinship between the two lines was then still close enough to preserve the character of a united family group. Cenél nEndai sank into a subordinate position and ultimately into obscurity, and Tír Endai, the region of Raphoe, came successively under the immediate rule and lordship of Cenél nEogain

[1] The original Tír Eoghain was the peninsula now called Inis Eoghain. On the neck of this peninsula stands the fortress of Ailech. The later Tír Eoghain, "Tyrone," was all at one time part of the territory of Airgialla (Oirghialla, "Oriel").

and Cenél Conaill. The chief kings of the Northern Ui Néill shared the kingship of Ireland in irregular alternation with the chief kings of the Southern Ui Néill. But gradually the kings of Cenél nEogain extended their power over the neighbouring territories of the Airgialla[1] eastward and southward. They thus became, but not without a sharp struggle and some reverses, definitely and permanently stronger than their kinsfolk of Cenél Conaill, who were cut off by these acquisitions from further territorial expansion. The contest for supremacy was finally determined by Aed Allán, king of Cenél nEogain, who in 734 overcame Flaithbertach, king of Cenél Conaill and high-king of Ireland. Flaithbertach was deposed from the high-kingship and passed the long remainder of his life in religious retirement at Armagh. None of the line of Conall afterwards succeeded to the high-kingship. By this time, the region comprised in the county of Londonderry, and a large part of Tyrone, as well as the eastern part of Donegal county, had become definitely subject to Cenél nEogain and had to a large extent been parcelled out in lordship to nobles of that sept. Afterwards, by degrees, the kings of Cenél nEogain acquired an effective suzerainty over all the Airgialla. Cenél Conaill in the west and the Ulaid in the east tenaciously resisted the extension of this suzerainty over themselves. The Ulaidh got the worst of the struggle but Cenél Conaill maintained its coordinate status and even encroached on the territory of Cenél nEogain, annexing Tír Endai and the ancient Tír Eogain, now called Inis Eogain. The traditional title, "king of

[1] Airgialla, Oirghialla (whence "Oriel"), in the earlier use of the name, is applied to the rulers and territory of so much of Ulster as is not comprised in the counties of Donegal, Cavan, Antrim and Down. Later, when the territory now comprised in the counties of Derry and Tyrone was annexed by Cenél nEogain, Airgialla=counties Armagh, Monaghan and Fermanagh. At the time of the Norman Invasion, Donnchad Ua Cerbaill, k. of Airgialla, had extended his power over what is now County Louth, and hence this county, not included in the old extent of Airgialla, is called "English Oriel" in documents of the Feudal regime, having been occupied by grantees under the English crown.

Ailech," continued nevertheless to be given to the kings of Cenél nEogain in virtue of their unquestionable primacy in Ulster. They dwelt in Ailech as late as 939, for in that year the Norsemen made a swoop on Ailech, and carried off from it the king, Muirchertach. Possibly this event led to the desertion of the old stronghold, for a son of Muirchertach, afterwards king of Ireland, is called Domnall of Armagh.[1]

Throughout the time covered by the instances of the term *rígdomna*, the kingship of Ailech means the chief-kingship of Cenél nEogain and of the Northern Ui Néill. The territories of the Northern Ui Néill and of their dependencies were called collectively In Fochla, an Old-Irish word meaning the North. This term seems to have remained in general use until about 925. Later instances of it are probably learned revivals. For it, the term In Tuaiscert is found substituted sometimes in the ninth century—perhaps as a gloss on In Fochla by later scribes to whom the old name had become obscure, for it does not appear that In Fochla was replaced by In Tuaiscert in general usage as a name for the north-western over-kingdom. After 925, the kings take their title from Ailech only.[2] Hence it will be understood that *rígdomna ind Fhochlai*, *rígdomna in Tuaiscirt*, and *rígdomna Ailig* are synonyms, denoting a person eligible to the chief kingship of Cenél nEogain. The instances are as follows :—

868. Fachtna, rd. ind Fochlai. Son of Mael Dúin, " rex Ailig," +867.
879. Ualgarg, rd. in Tuaisceirt. Grandson of Niall Caille, k. Ailech and k. I.
883. Oengus, rd. in Tuaiscirt. Son of Mael Dúin, " rex Ailig."
886. Murchad, rd. ind Fochlai. Son of Mael Dúin, " rex Ailig."
906. Flann, rd. in Tuaiscirt. Son of Domnall rí Ailig.
919. Flaithbertach, rd. ind Fochlai. Son of Domnall rí Ailig. Henceforward the title is *rígdomna Ailig*.

[1] Perhaps, however, only because he died in Armagh. He is the same Domnall who has already been mentioned as Domnall Ua Neill.

[2] In the 14th century, this dynasty assumed the title of *righ Uladh*, " kings of Ulster."

935. Conchobar. Son of Domnall rí Ailig.

941. Mael Ruanaid. Grandson of Domnall rí Ailig.

980. Dubgall. Grandson of Domnall rí Ailig.

994. Aed.[1] Greatgrandson of Domnall rí Ailig.

997. Mael Sechnaill. Greatgrandson of Domnall rí Ailig.

1010. Aed. Son of Conn +962. Acc. to Flann Mainistrech's poem on the Ailech dynasty, Flaithbertach, Tadg, and Conn, three brothers, sons of Conchobor (+935), were joint kings of Ailech.

1017. Fergal. Greatgrandson of Domnall rí Ailig.

1019. Ardgar and Archu. (Sons of Mael Sechnaill). Great-great-grandsons of Domnall rí Ailig.

1021. Aed. AU has "The son of Flann s.o. Mael Sechnaill, .i. ridomna Temrach, Aed .i. ridomna Ailig, and Domnall Hua Murchada, occisi sunt." Tigernach has "Aed s.o. Flann s.o. Flann s.o. Mael Sechnaill, rígdamna Erenn, was slain," apparently joining two names in one. I cannot find the pedigree of Aed, unless he was one of the two Aeds, sons of Domnall, k. I. +980. The other Aed died in 1004.

1024. Domnall. Son of Aed, and probably grandson of Domnall, k. I. +980.

1046. Muiredach. Son of Flaithbertach, k. of Ailech +1036.

1054. Aed. Grandson of Fergal, k. of Ailech +1001. He was petty king of Telach Oc.

1063. Mael Sechnaill hua Motodán. I cannot find the pedigree of Motodán.

1074. Ragnall hua Matodan (=Motodán above).

1095. Muirchertach hua Cairre "chief of Cenél Oengusa and rd. Ailig." Cenél Oengusa was a subordinate sept of Cenél Eogain. This and the two preceding examples have reference probably to the local petty kingdom of Ailech, not to the over-kingdom.

1108. "The son of Domnall mac [Ardgair] maic Lochlainn." Domnall was k. of Ailech and claimed to be k. I.

1114. Muirchertach. Son of Domnall Ua Lochlainn, son of Ardgar, k. of Ailech.

1119. Niall. Son of Domnall Ua Lochlainn.

1123. Congalach ua Flaithbertaig. Perhaps a grandson of Flaithbertach, k. of Ailech, +1036.

1124. Ardgar, "grandson of Aed ua Mael Sechlainn," thus great-grandson of Niall, k. of Ailech, +1061. (See AU 1068).

Rigdomna Connacht.

867. Aban. Son of Cinaed, k. C., +792, and grandson of Cathal, k. C., +735. The entry in AU 791 implies that Muirgius succeeded Cinaed as king.

[1] Acc. to Tigernach, Aed was king of Mag Itha. Just as the king of Ailech or of Mide might be *rígdomna Erenn*, so the king of a petty kingdom might be eligible to the higher kingship over a group of petty kingdoms.

922. Mael Chluiche. Son of Conchobor, k. C., +882.
967. Muirchertach. Grandson of Tadg, k. C., +956.
988. Muirgius. Son of Conchobor, k. C., +973.
991. Aed Ua Ruairc. Son of Fergal, k. C., +966.
1013. Domnall. Son of Cathal, k. C., +1010.
1025. Niall. Grandson of Conchobor.
1027. Brian. Grandson of Conchobor.
1029. Conchobor. Pedigree not traced.
1053. [Fergal son of] Mac na haidche Ua Ruairc. Art s.o. Aed Ua Ruairc aforesaid was k. C. +1046. Aed s.o. Art became k. C. in 1067. I cannot find "Mac na haidche" in their line. During the eleventh century, several kings of Breifne, of the Ua Ruairc line, held the superior kingship of Connacht.
1069. Conchobor mac in Chléirig Hui Chonchobuir. Grandson of Tadg, k. C., +1030.
1069. Murchad Liathanach. "In Liathanach," s.o. Aed k. C. +1067, BB 97 col. 3.
1082. Domnall. Son of Tadg, k. C. +1030.
1085. Ualgarg Ua Ruairc. Son of Domnall +1057. I cannot trace his descent further.
1093. Aed Ua Conchobuir. Grandson of Aed, k. C., +1067.
1097. Tadg Ua Conchobuir. Son of Ruaidri, k. C. deposed 1092. Tadg was k. C. acc. to Ann. Tig.
1118. Domnall, "heyre of Connaght." Son of Ruaidri k. C.
1144. Tadg. "In t-adbar ríg rob áille," etc., Ann. Tig. Son of Toirdelbach, then k. C.
1150. Domnall. Grandson of Ruaidri k. C. deposed 1092.
1159. Aed. Son of Ruaidri k. C. then reigning.

Rigdomna Muman, Rigdomna Caisil.

In the annals, "king of Cashel" means "king of Munster" until the reigns of Mathgamain (+976) and Brian (+1014). Before their time, for several centuries, the kings of the Eoganachta of Cashel had been kings of Munster. After Brian, the only kings of all Munster were of his line, but there were still petty kings of Cashel of the Eoghanacht dynasty. Hence, from Brian's time onward, *rígdomna Caisil* denotes a prince eligible to be king of Cashel, not necessarily eligible to be king of Munster. I have no instance of *rígdomna* in either dynasty before Brian's reign.

987. Dúnlaing rd. Caisil. Son of Dub Da Bairenn, k. C.
1011. Aed, rd. Caisil. Son of Mathgamain, k. M.
1014. Conaing m. Duinn Chuan, rd. Muman. (The kings of Dál Cais, Mathgamain and Brian, having become kings of Munster, eligibility to the kingship of Munster is here supposed to be derivable from earlier kings of Dál Cais). Grandson of Cennétig, k. of Dál Cais.[1]

[1] Conaing and his son Mathgamain belonged to the *derbfine* which originated from Cennétig and included his sons Mathgamain and Brian. Domnall and Etru

1019. Mathgamain m. Conaing, rd. Muman. Greatgrandson of Cennétig, k. of Dál Cais.

1027. Domnall m. Senchain m. Flaithbertaig, rd. Muman. (Flaithbertach m. Coscraig m. Lorcáin, BB 183 b 4). Great-greatgrandson of Lorcan, k. Dál Cais.

1032. Etru hua Conaing, rd. Muman. Great-greatgrandson of Cennétig.

1038. Cú Dúilig h. Donnchada, rd. Caisil. Grandson of Donnchad, k. C., +963.

1052. Mac Raith h. Donnchada, rí Eoganachta Caisil, rd. Muman. Grandson of Donnchad, r. C.

1053. Donnchad h. Cellacháin, rd. Caisil. Probably greatgrandson of Cellachán, k. C., +954.

1057. Finnguine h. Finnguini, rd. Muman. His ancestor Finnguine, k. M., +902.

1068. Murchad h. Briain, rd. Muman, AU (rd. Erenn, T). Grandson of Brian, k. M.

1078. Conchobor h. Donnchada, rd. Caisil. Probably greatgrandson of Donnchad, k. C.

1110. Murchad m. Taidg h. Briain, rd. Muman. Grandson of Tairdelbach, k. M. (k. I.) +1086.

1115. Domnall m. Taidg h. Briain, rd. Muman. Grandson of Tairdelbach, k. M.

1118. Brian m. Murchada h. Briain, rd. Muman AU (ri Tuadmuman T). Greatgrandson of Brian, k. M.

1172. Murchad (AU) Mac maic Domnaill (T) Ua Briain, rd. Muman (T). Probably grandson of Domnall +1115, and great-greatgrandson of Tairdelbach, k. M.

The headship of the Laigin, like the headship of the Ui Néill, diverged from an early time into two branches, but no custom of alternation has been traced. The two septs that shared the chief kingship of Leinster were Ui Dúnlainge in North Leinster and Ui Cennselaig in South Leinster, descendants respectively of Dúnlaing son of Enda Nia son of Bresal Bélach, and of Enda Cennselach son of Labraid son of Bresal Bélach. Bresal's death is recorded at 435 or 436 A.D. The Ui Dúnlainge further subdivided into three septs, each at the head of a petty kingdom: Ui Faclán, Ui Muiredaig, and Ui Dúnchada. Each of these was able for a period to maintain its claim

did not belong to this *derbfine*, being of the fifth generation. Possibly an intervening ancestor between Cennétig and these held the kingship of Dál Cais, which the chronicler may have regarded equivalent to the superior kingship of Munster.

to a share in the primacy. Faelán, Muiredach and Dúnchad were sons of Murchad, k. L., +727. For the list of kings in this triplex dynasty, see the table in the first section of this paper.

Dúnchad succeeded his father in the kingship, 727, but was defeated and slain in the battle of Ailinn, 728, his brother Faelán, the victor, becoming king. Faelán died in 738, and the kingship of Leinster was divided between Aed mac Colgan, king of Ui Cennselaig and Bran, brother of Faelán; apparently an amicable division, for the two kings joined hands in that year, 738, to oppose Aed Allán, king of Ireland, and fell in the battle of Ath Senaig. Muiredach then became king and reigned until 760 (AU) or 758 (T). (LL 39 confirms AU, giving Muiredach a reign of 22 years). The succession after this was :—

Cellach s.o. Dúnchad, +776. Ruaidri s.o. Faelán, +785. Bran s.o. Muiredach, +795. Fíunechta s.o. Cellach, +808. Muiredach s.o. Ruaidri, +829. Cellach s.o. Bran, +834. Bran s.o. Faelan (s.o. Cellach, s.o. Dúnchad), +838. Ruarc s.o. Bran, +862 (apparently deposed after his defeat in 846). Lorcán s.o. Cellach, reigning in 848 (reigned three years, LL 39). Tuathal s.o. Mael Brigte, +854 (r. three years, LL), belonged to Ui Muiredaig, but I have not traced his descent, probably grandson of Bran +795. Dúnlaing s.o. Murchad : he reigned eleven years, acc. to LL 39. He is not named in AU, but was, perhaps, the same as Dúnlaing s.o. Muiredach s.o. Bran +795, in the pedigree of Ui Muiredaig, BB 138 col. 1. Muiredach s.o. Bran and Coirpre s.o. Dúnlaing jointly for a month (LL). They were probably deposed. Muiredach was k.L. in 870 and 875 (AU), also [after abdication ?] abbot of Kildare, and died in 885. I cannot trace his descent, but his name points to Ui Muiredaig. Muirecán s.o. Diarmaid, +863. Grandson of Ruaidri, +785. Ailill s.o. Dúnlaing, +871. Domnall s.o. Muirecán, +884. Cerball s.o. Muirecán, +909. Augaire s.o. Ailill, +917. Faelán s.o. Muiredach, +942. Lorcán s.o. Faelán, +943. Broen s.o. Mael Mórda, +947. (Mael Mórda +917, s.o. Muirecán). Tuathal s.o. Augaire, +958. Murchad s.o. Find s.o. Mael Mórda s.o. Muirecán, +972. Augaire s.o. Tuathal, +978. Domnall Cloen s.o. Lorcán, +984. Donnchad (AU, T, but Dúnchad LL) s.o. Domnall Cloen, deposed 999. Mael Mórda s.o. Murchad, +1014. Dúnlaing s.o. Tuathal, +1014. Donn Cuan s.o. Dúnlaing, +1016. Broen s.o. Mael Mórda, deposed 1018, died 1052. Augaire s.o. Dúnlaing, +1024. Donnchad s.o. Dúnlaing, +1036. Donnchad mac Gilla Phátraic, +1039, k. of Osraige, usurped the kingdom of Leinster. Domnall s.o. Donnchad +1039. (AU and T call him only k. of Ui Faeláin). Murchad s.o. Dúnlaing, +1042. Diarmait s.o. Mael na mBó, +1072. He restored the kingship of Leinster to his own line of Ui Censelaig. His son

Murchad +1070 was in joint kingship with him for some time. From him came the surname Mac Murchada. Domnall s.o. Murchad, +1075. Donnchad s.o. Domnall Rainor, +1089, s.o. Mael na mBó. Enna s.o. Diarmait, +1092.

("Donnchad mac Murchada and Conchobor Ua Conchobuir, two years in joint sovereignty, until they were slain together in the battle of Ath Cliath by the Foreigners of Ath Cliath and Domnall Ua Briain." —LL 39. I cannot find any substantiation in the annals for this statement. There is no battle of Ath Cliath about the time indicated, 1094. If Conchobor was joint-king of Leinster, he must have been made king by Ruaidri Ua Conchobuir, k. of Connacht who was deposed in 1092. It is a fact, however, that Tairdelbach Ua Conchobuir, king of Ireland, made his son Conchobor king of Ath Cliath in 1126, and apparently king of Leinster also. The Laigin and the Norsemen expelled Conchobor in 1127, whereupon Tairdelbach made Domnall Ua Faeláin king of Leinster. The Donnchad in question seems to have been the father of Diarmait, last king of Leinster. Tairdelbach afterwards, in 1143, gave the kingship of Mide to Conchobor, who was slain in a revolt of Mide in 1144).

Diarmait s.o. Enna, +1117. Enna s.o. Donnchad, +1126. Diarmait s.o. Donnchad, +1171.

Rigdomna Laigen ("of Leinster)."

923. Finn s.o. Mael Mórda. Grandson of Muirecán, k. L., +863.

967. Cerball. Son of Lorcán, k. L., +943.

980. Broen. Son of Murchad, k. L., +972. AU calls him king of Leinster.

1017. Cerball. Son of Mael Mórda, k. L., +1014.

1019. Gilla Coemgin. Son of Dúnlaing, k. L., +1014.

1059. Gilla Coemgin s.o. Gilla Comgaill (T has "Gilla Coemgin and Gilla Comgaill"). Greatgrandson of Tuathal, k. L., +958. Gilla Comgaill +1041, s.o. Donn Cuan s.o. Tuathal, BB 138 col. 1.

1063. Faelán s.o. Murchad. Probably son of Murchad, k. L., +1042.

1064. Diarmait. Grandson or greatgrandson of Lorcán, k. L., +943.

The overking of the states of eastern Ulster is called sometimes *rí Ulad*, sometimes *rí in Chóicid*, "king of the Fifth [of Conchobor]." This group of states is called *in Cóiced*, "the Fifth," because it was held to represent the ancient *Cóiced Ulad* or "Fifth of the Ulaid," being the only portion thereof that remained unconquered by Dál Cuinn. The title *rí Ulad* is ambiguous, since the Ulaid formed also a part of the whole group of states, and the king of the Ulaid was not always overking of the whole group. I give all the instances together without distinction.

Rigdomna Ulad. Rigdomna in Choicid.

924. Mael Dúin, rd. in Chóicid. Son of Aed, rí in Chóicid, AU 913.

982. Archu, rd. Ulad. Son of Niall, rí Ulad, +971.

1008. Muiredach, rd. Ulad. Son of Matodán, rí Ulad, +1007.

1062. Eochaid, rd. Cóicid Erenn. Son of Niall, ardrí Ulad, +1063.
1107. Conchobor, rd. Ulad. Son of Donn Sléibe, rí Ulad, AU 1084.
1114. Aed, rd. Ulad. Son of Donnchad, rí Ulad, deposed 1113.

Rigdomna Breg.

893. Congalach. Son of Flannacán, rí Breg, +896.
895. Cellach. Son of Flannacán.
896. Cinaed. Son of Flannacán.
909. Amalgaíd s.o. Congalach. Grandson of Flannacán.

Rigdomna Ua nEchach Ulad.

1005. Artán. I have not traced his descent.
1012. Muirchertach. Son of Artán.
1102. Donnchad s.o. Echrí ua hAitid. Descent not traced.

Rigdomna na nDese.

Instances occur at 1051, 1060, and 1103. I have not been able to trace descent for them. At 1103, we find "da hUa Bric, da rd. na nD.," one of a number of instances showing that there could be several persons entitled at the same time *rígdomna* of a particular kingdom.

Rigdomna: instances in various dynasties.

884. Conaing, rd. Ciannachta. S.o. Flann, k. (?) of Ciannachta Breg, +812.
887. Tigernach, rd. Deiscirt Breg. S.o. Tolarg, "lethrí Deiscirt Breg," +888.
912. Gairbíth, rd. Conaille. S.o. Mael Mórda +891, "rex Conaille Muirtheimne."
914. Mael Muire, rd. na nAirgialla. S.o. Flannacán, probably the king of Fernmag, AU 886.
947. Gairbíth, rd. Ua Cremthainn.
980. Ragnall, rd. na nGall. S.o. Olaf Cuaran, k. Dublin. Sole instance found of a non-Irish *rígdomna*.
991. Tadc rd. Osraigi. Son of Donnchad +976, k. O.
1002. Muirchertach Ua Ciardai, rd. Cairpre [Ui Chiardai].
1036. Murchad hua in C[h]appail, Niall m. Muirgisa, dá rígdomna Iarthair Connacht. (Tigernach calls the former Muirchertach Hua Flaithbertaig).
1041. Domnall Remur, rd. Ua Cennselaig. S.o. Donnchad Mael na mBó, k. of Ui C., +1006. His brother Diarmaid became k. of Leinster.
1045. Manchán, rd. Ua Conaill Gabra.
1048. MacBuadachain, rd. Delbna.
1054. In Croibderg, rd. Uachtair Tíre.
1059. Ruaidri Ua Gadra, rd. Luigne [Connacht].
1062. Ruaidri, rd. Fernmaige.

1066. "The son of Conaing Ua Muiricen, rd. Tebtha."
1067. Donn Sléibe Ua Gadra, rd. Luigne [Connacht].
1077. Hua Celecan, rd. Airther.
1096. Cú Ulad Ua Ceilecán, rd. Airgiall. This and the foregoing belong to the sept Ui Bresail in the genealogies, but I have not traced their pedigrees.
1102. Niall mac maic Néill Ui Ruairc, rd. Breifni. Probably s.o. Aed +1087, "k. of Conmaicne [Réin]."
1103. Ua Failbe, rd. Corco Duibne.
1113. "Dá rígdamna Fernmaige .i. Hua Crichan ocus Hua Donnacán."
1114. Ruaidri Ua Canannan, rd. Ceneoil Conaill.
1119. "Donagh McGillpatrick's son, heyr of Ossory." Donnchad MacGilla Phatraic, k. O., +1089.
1123. Domnall mac maic Donnchada, rd. Mide.
1133. Conchobor, rd. Mide. S.o. Murchad Ua Mael Shechnaill, k. of Mide.
1145. Find Ua Cerbaill, rd. Eile.
1171. Aed, rd. Breifni. S.o. Tigernan Ua Ruairc, k. of Breifne.

Instances occur in which no personal name is given and which thus cannot be elucidated from the genealogies: 1027, rd. Eoganacht; 1027, rd. Ua Conaill Gabra; 1048, rd. Ua Maini; 1060, rd. Ua Focarta. (See also previous list, under 1066, 1077, 1103, 1113). These seem to point to individuals designated beforehand to the succession, such as in later times were called by the title of *tánaiste*. This title does not appear before the 13th century and spreads gradually thereafter. There is abundant evidence that even after its appearance there was no general custom of choosing a successor to a king while he still reigned. The assumption of a general "law of tanistry," found in many English writings, is quite unwarranted.

Eoin MacNeill.

CHRONICLE.

I.—Irish History from Within.

BY PROFESSOR ARTHUR E. CLERY.

Eoin MacNeill: *Phases of Irish History.* (Dublin: Gill. 1919. 12*s.* 6*d.* net).

MOST countries have two histories—a body of beautiful (or sometimes ugly) legend, and over against it a body of commonplace fact or at least probable hypothesis. After a time the legends are left to the poets, till at last even they desert them. I believe that there still exists an English Statute setting out the English claim to Ireland, which solemnly bases it (*inter alia*) on the achievements of Brute the Trojan. Nowadays even an English poet would not touch him. His story has degenerated from being a fable into being a lie.

The fables of Irish history have, owing to various causes, chiefly political causes, had a more fortunate course. It is only quite lately that anyone has had the temerity to question them. And the fables of most recent origin are those received with least question. Irish history has been so much a battlefield for politicians, that it is felt that to "scrap" any portion of it, to admit for instance that Diarmait Mac Murchadha, King of Leinster, never misbehaved himself with Dearbhfergail (Dervorgilla) would be to open a breach to the enemy; it would injure a play of Lady Gregory and a beautiful poem of Yeats; who knows what attack the enemy might push in through the broken ramparts.

It is in very recent times, therefore, that anything like critical history has been tolerated among us, that is to say critical history written without any purpose of belittling the Gael. The literary malevolence of the conqueror for the conquered we have had at all times, like other subject people. But critical history written in

a scientific spirit is another matter. Fr. George O'Neill, S.J., for instance, if I recollect aright, was the first to publicly confute the romantic slanders upon Dervorgilla, which have no foundation in our early annals. Ua Clerigh subsequently confirmed him. Ua Clerigh was indeed one of the first critical historians, and Mac Neill, who has, of course, far greater capacity for dealing with native sources, supports a great many of his conclusions. He agrees with him as regards the genuineness of Hadrian's donation, and, on the other hand, as to the complete falsity of the alleged cursing and destruction of Tara by the Irish Church. As he does not deal in any detail with the career of St. Patrick, he does not discuss Ua Clerigh's contention that the saint came from Therouanne in France. But in another vital matter the two writers agree—the non-Celtic character of the Irish people, if by Celt you mean a racial Celt—" the black haired, bullet-headed, sallow-complexioned man of the comic papers, who saves his money and cherishes his dinner in the centre of France," to use a phrase a second time.

A like view will be found expressed in a recent pamphlet " Ireland the Outpost," by Grenville Cole, the Geologist. Mac Neill drives home Ua Clerigh's criticism on the accepted view of the Irish being a Celtic people with a wealth of detailed argument. There is no trace in ancient Irish history, literature or even legend, of the Irish looking on themselves as a Celtic people. Though this doctrine has had an almost scriptural acceptance for so many years, its first appearance is in a work by Buchanan in 1589, science no longer supports it. The real difference between the Irish and the English population is that the Irish are descended from the men of the new stone age. In England the type of Palaeolithic man still survives. He never knows when he is beaten, because Roman, Saxon, Dane and Norman have passed over him and left him there all the time, stonily unconscious of defeat ; this is the real quality of our ancient green-eyed neighbours. The Gaels, the predominant people in ancient Ireland, coming from Belgian territory, were a German people taught a Celtic tongue by the ancestors of the modern French, much as the Gaels have been untaught it by the modern English. But there were other racial elements in our country beside the Gaels ; a dark people from the Mediterranean still bulk largely in the Irish population ; and again there is a people about whom the warring " Gael " and " Saxon " choose to observe a discreet silence. The most ancient name of England and Ireland is the " Pretannic " islands, and Pretannic (in modern times Britannic) means Pictish. Think of it ! His

Pictish Majesty! The Picts are the skeleton in the cupboard both of the British and the Irish nation. They had a great settlement in North Louth, now strangely enough the only Irish-speaking district in sight of Dublin.

But ethnology is a bewildering science. In the history of mediaeval institutions one stands on firmer ground. Mr. Mac Neill's treatment of this part of his subject is daring and revolutionary. He breaks definitely with all existing authorities, including Ua Clerigh.

When we approach the study of the early Irish legal system we find a body of laws which has its basis on ideas fundamentally different from modern juristic doctrines. The Brehon Laws were a living but not a changing organism, laws that were not legislative enactments, nor the commands of a sovereign political authority, but the customs of a people having for their only "sanction" organised public opinion. The native Irish law contemplates the state of things that existed when society was in the tribal state of evolution; *when the legal unit was the group of kindred families* and the importance of the individual a minimum. The principle on which the whole system of native Irish land tenure proceeded was that the entire district or territory in the occupation or possession of the clan was the absolute permanent and ultimate property of the clan.

Some such words as these convey accepted ideas on the Brehon Laws. The revolutionary nature of Mr. Mac Neill's contribution to the subject may best be expressed by saying that, excepting the words in Italics, he puts a "not" into all this. Irish mediaeval law and civilization, according to Mac Neill, if he be correct, was not fundamentally different from the civilisation of our time, it was not prehistoric, it was a changing system—the institution of Tanistry, for instance, is later in date than the Norman invasion. The Brehon Laws were enforced by a sovereign, who, exercising the powers of the State, acted as judge in his own court.

The Brehon was little better than his registrar, who kept him right as to established practice. Irish society was not in a tribal state of evolution; it had long passed beyond it. There was a King of the O'Neills as there is a King of the Belgians; but the O'Neills were no more a tribe than are the Belgians. It was only a name. O'Neills in Tyrone were in fact not more numerous than Hohenzollerns in Germany, and if a man is to-day styled O'Neill it means not that his people once belonged to Clan O'Neill, but that they were actually members of the princely family. There

was no clan of O'Neills; for there were no clans at all, but only kingdoms with clan names. The soil of Tyrone and other Irish districts was divided up between private owners in those days, just as it is at present. (Readers will remember how much importance James Connolly attaches to the hitherto accepted view of collective ownership as stated above). There may have been conjoint ownership in grazed mountains or the like, just as there is now. At most the joint family group—a legal conception—had a more real existence for the law, especially when it became a question of dealing with a dead man's assets, than it has at present. The relations of one man holding land of another was common. The alleged clan was simply a state—an under-state. Its only communal power was the political function of choosing its king, by election, from the ruling family. In a word one might say that Mr. Mac Neill's thesis, turning his face against all existing writers, is that the world of mediaeval Ireland was a modern world, a civilisation that had long passed out of the tribal state. This view largely accords with the views of Mrs. Greene.

His view of pre-Tudor Irish History is also quite a fresh one. He looks at matters from the Irish point of view instead of that of the harassed Norman colony that clung to Dublin Castle. And on the whole it was a victory for Irish civilisation. The Irish nation rallied from the shock of the first defeat. The invader was driven out or circumscribed within negligible limits. And this was done—by Scotch mercenaries! It was the Doyles, the McSweenys, and the MacNeills, Hebridean soldiers hired by the Irish devoid of military system, who drove out the Norman invader! It was not till the Tudor Kings began to employ similar Scotch mercenaries against the Irish that the tide turned in their favour. But this was centuries later. In the four centuries that succeeded the supposed conquest, Irish civilisation was, in the main, restored. A prosperous community with wide trade relations and a refined literary culture lived a happy normal life, not seriously disturbed by the aliens, who had effected settlements at a few places on the Irish shore and were in process of slow assimilation. In fact the "Norman" period was almost a golden age of Irish civilisation, in the places where the Normans were not. At worst the Irish lacked prime ministers owing to the absence of imbecile kings—their monarchy was not hereditary. But in a hundred other respects their civilisation was the better one. Scotch mercenaries had saved it. Gunpowder and Scotch mercenaries were destined to destroy it.

A. E. Clery.

II.—Irish Fiction for Boys.

VI.—Humorous Stories and Sketches.[1]

BY STEPHEN J. BROWN, S.J.

THERE is no lack of Irish humorous stories; but, from the boy's point of view, the majority of them have this drawback that they are full of dialect—nay, rely largely for their humour on clever reproduction of the brogue. This would not, as a rule, repel maturer readers. But experience, I think, shows that boys dislike it, chiefly, perhaps, because they find it hard to follow. Almost all the books in the following list are, to a greater or less extent, subject to this drawback.

1. George A. Birmingham :—Spanish Gold (1908); The Search Party (1909); The Major's Niece (1911); The Simpkins Plot (1911); The Inviolable Sanctuary (1912); Doctor Whitty (1913); The Lost Tribes (1917).
2. Edmund Downey :—Through Green Glasses (1887); The Voyage of the Ark (1888); From the Green Bag (1889); Green as Grass (1892); The Round Tower of Babel (1892).
3. Edmund Downey :—Anchor Watch Yarns (1884); Captain Lanagan's Log (1891); The Land Smeller (1892).
4. Edmund Downey :—Ballybeg Junction (1895).
5. Edmund Downey :—Dunleary (1911).
6. Edmund Downey :—Brayhard (1890).
7. Edmund Downey :—Pinches of Salt (1895).
8. Father T. A. Fitzgerald :—Homespun Yarns (1914); Fits and Starts (1915); A Good Third (1916); Four in Hand (1917); The Five of Trumps (1918).
9. Lynn Doyle :—Ballygullion (1908).
10. Seumas MacManus :—The Leadin' Road to Donegal (1896); 'Twas in Dhroll Donegal (1897); The Humours of Donegal (1898); Tales that Were Told (1919).
11. M. McD. Bodkin :—Pat O' Nine Tales (1894); Poteen Punch (1890); Patsy the Omadhaun, etc.

[1] Parts I. to V. appeared in the issues of December, 1918, and September, 1919.

12. Somerville and Ross :—Some Experiences of an Irish R.M. (1899); All on the Irish Shore (1903); In Mr. Knox's Country (1915).

13. Patrick Archer :—The Humours of Shanwalla (1906).

1. These stories were not by any means written for boys and can be recommended only for boys of fifteen or sixteen and upwards, and that with certain reserves. For behind the comedy there is a good deal of satire, a satire that is not wholly justified nor wholly friendly. Moreover, lying as a fine art is a speciality of many of the *dramatis personae* in the stories.
2. Edmund Downey (F. M. Allen) is a most versatile writer. Even his humorous books belong to various types. The books grouped under 2 are a series of yarns told by a humorous Waterford countryman, "Dan Banim." They are all in dialect, and the humour is broadly comic and farcical but not overdone.
3. Yarns full of fun told by old salts in a humorous nautical lingo.
4. Perhaps the author's most humorous book. An excellent comedy of life in the South of Ireland.
5. A set of capital funny stories told with great verve.
6. A humorous extravaganza full of jokes and comic situations.
7. Stories of various kinds told without dialect.
8. The contents of these five collections of stories are not all comic. Here and there essays and sketches in a more serious vein are interspersed. But for the most part they give us the comic side of Dublin life, both suburban and "low." They are all illustrated.
9. The first consists of comic episodes of Northern life. The book has received the highest praise and is deservedly popular. Not very much dialect.
10. There is humour in all this author's dozen or more books, but these are selected as being avowedly and almost exclusively humourous. Some of the stories he tells are uproarious farces in which the fun never flags for a moment. They are mostly in northern dialect.
11. These are of the after dinner story order and are more suited to grown-ups than to boys, though the latter will enjoy some of them.
12. The humours of country life in County Cork as seen by two ladies of the county family class. About the humour of the stories there can be no doubt: it is inimitable. But the mere Irish, represented as they are by the hangers on of the gentry, figure in these stories in no very reputable light.
13. Stories of life in a North County Dublin village, thoroughly Irish and thoroughly wholesome.

The books in the above list are not, of course, adequately representative of Irish humour. For instance, many of our best writers in books of serious purpose have humorous interludes like the comic scenes in Shakespeare's historical dramas. In others the humour is too subtly interfused to be, as it were, detachable. For various reasons some of our best-known humourists—Carleton, Lever, Lover, Maginn, Lefanu—do not here find a place.

VII.—Fairy Tales.

These lists are mainly intended for boys who have passed the stage of interest in fairy tales. Yet it may be useful to mention here a few of the best collections of stories from the Celtic Fairyland.

1. The Irish Fairy Book. By Alfred Perceval Graves. (1909); new ed. 1918.
2. Fairy Stories from Erin's Isle. By Marie Bayne. (1908).
3. The Children's Book of Celtic Stories. By Elizabeth Grierson. (1908).
4. Irish Fairy Tales. By Edmund Leamy. (1889); new ed. 1906.
5. Celtic Fairy Tales (Two series). By Joseph Jacob. (1891, 1902).
6. The Kings and the Cats. By John Hannon. (1908).
7. The Magic Horsehair. By J. A. Wightman. (1918).
8. The Little Green Man. By " F. M. Allen " (Edmund Downey).
9. Elf Errant. By Moira O'Neill (1902).
10. Prince Patrick. By Arnold Graves. (1898).
11. Donegal Fairy Stories. By Seumas MacManus. (1902).

All of these are illustrated, though naturally the illustrations vary in quality. No. 1 is delightfully brought out from every point of view. It contains poems as well as fairy tales. No. 2 is for quite small children. No. 3 is very attractively produced: it has a dozen coloured illustrations. No. 4 is above the ordinary run of such story books: the style is charming yet simple, and George Fagan's illustrations are delightful. No. 5 is, perhaps, the best of all both as regards illustrations and letter press. No. 6 is illustrated by Louis Wain. Nos. 7 to 10 are continuous stories. The last is really a book of folk-stories, full of humorous extravagance, but is quite suitable for children.

VIII.—Miscellaneous.

There remain some books that seem suitable for boys of the age mentioned and which do not come conveniently under any of the classes hitherto dealt with.

1. By the Barrow River. By Edmund Leamy. (1907).
2. Irish Fireside Tales. By Robert Dwyer Joyce. (1871).
3. The Fireside Stories of Ireland. By Patrick Kennedy. (1870).
4. The Bardic Stories of Ireland. By the same. (1871).
5. Father Guinan's Stories:—The Moores of Glynn (1907); The Island Parish (1908); The Curate of Kilcloon (1913); The Soggarth Aroon (1907).

6. The Golden Lad. By Molly Malone. (1910).
7. Stories by Brian O'Higgins :—By a Hearth in Eirinn (1908); Glimpses of Glen-na-Mona (1908); Fun of the Forge (1915); Hearts of Gold (1918).
8. Foundling Mick. By Jules Verne. (1895).
9. Stories by "Brother James." (Often reprinted without date).
10. Juvenile Tales. By Gerald Griffin (published by Duffy in a shilling volume and by the Catholic Truth Society of Ireland in penny numbers).

No. 1 is a miscellaneous collection of magazine stories, including some good ghost stories. Some of Joyce's stories (No. 2) are founded on history, others are comic folk stories. Kennedy's two books, now well nigh forgotten and hard to get, are for the most part fairy and folk tales. Some, however, of the stories are hero tales, others family legends. All are pleasantly told and suitable for young readers. Nearly all Father Guinan's stories deal with the life of young priests in country parishes: they are thoroughly Irish and Catholic, and very simply told. No. 6 is a pretty story of Dublin slum children. Brian O'Higgins's stories are full of the spirit of the Irish revival and deeply religious. They can be heartily recommended. *Foundling Mick* tells the adventures of a little waif in all parts of Ireland. Nos. 9 and 10 are of that somewhat old-fashioned type of moral tales represented by Canon Schmid or Miss Edgeworth. But they are worth reading.

Concluding Remarks.

In closing these lists of story-books for boys certain considerations suggest themselves. And first let me repeat that to attempt to confine a boy's reading to stories directly concerned with Ireland would be a mistake, if not an absurdity. Such a course is not suggested here. But why should not Irish boys be given the opportunity to read about their own country in that form of literature which most appeals to them? That such an opportunity is not always given them is not entirely due to the lack of books, a fact of which these lists are sufficient evidence. For they contain, in all, the titles of more than 160 books, all of which, I venture to say, are in quality up to the standard of the average boy's book.

Nevertheless we must not for a moment pretend to ourselves that these lists are on the whole satisfactory. In the first place not all the books contained in them are at present easily procurable; for books concerning Ireland very quickly go out of print owing to the small number of copies usually printed—a sure indication of very limited demand. Again a certain number of the stories I have placed in the lists are of a somewhat old-fashioned type and might not appeal to boys of our own day. Moreover a large

number of them are, as regards printing, binding, and illustrations (or the lack of them), brought out in a most unattractive fashion. But the most serious shortcoming is the almost total lack of certain classes of stories that appeal specially to boys. Of distinctively Irish school-stories, for instance, I have succeeded in scraping together only four! Comment is needless. I have failed to discover even one detective story, but, for fairly obvious reasons, such stories could scarcely have a really Irish atmosphere. Somewhat similar reasons account for the absence of those stories in which English juvenile literature so abounds—stories of army and navy and the merchant service and of the sea in general. Naturally, too, we have no boy-scout literature such as English boys delight in, nor any tales of the war, nor thrilling (German) spy stories. In our present national situation we are practically cut off from whole realms of romance into which the imagination of our young folk would gladly adventure. If they wander into such realms, as matters are at present, they find themselves in an alien atmosphere.

I have before me as I write a little book[1] which might well fill with envy anybody interested in what our children read. It is a guide to the choice of books for children between the ages of five and fifteen. No doubt, had we in Ireland the material out of which to compile a similar book our choice would not be quite the same from a religious[2] and national point of view: it is not the choice but the great abundance of the material that is the subject of our envy. "Ordinary story-books," the author tells us, are not mentioned, yet the titles of some 800 books are given. And even that number does not (we are told) fully represent the great mass of the children's literature that exists.

The author has endeavoured to be catholic in her choice, and she has certainly succeeded. The books included deal with a great variety of subjects, with nearly every country under the sun—there is even a book on Irish Saints,—and with every period of history. But, as is right and proper, England takes the first place, is the point from which the child looks out on the world. I earnestly recommend to Irish readers who have children or have to do with Irish children the following passage:—

> We have made one discovery in these dark days. Some of us have discovered that we have a country. How "dearworthy" we did not know till her hour of danger. What does the average child know of her story, her builders, and her

[1] *A Child's Bookshelf.* Suggestions on Children's Reading with an Annotated List of Books on Heroism, Service, Patriotism, Friendliness, Joy, and Beauty. By Lilian Stevenson. (Student Christian Movement. 1917. 1*s.* 6*d.* net).

[2] The author's choice, let it be said, is by no means narrowly sectarian.

buildings ? Not the dates of her kings, and the names of her—O misnomer !—" decisive battles," but those deeper flowing currents of national aspirations, those builders, legendary and real—Arthur and Alfred ; Alban and Patrick and Columba [dans cette galère !] ; Will Langland and John Bunyan, and the men who dreamed the dreams that have made our realities ? What does he know . . . . . of London and her builders, what of his own little countryside and its heroes ? And what, again, of those things which make men know she is worth dying for ? (Page 10).

To make any practicable suggestion towards remedying our sad lack of Irish juvenile literature is difficult in present circumstances. Publishing in Ireland is almost at a standstill. On the other hand there is an increasing number of parents who want for their children not more literature in the English language, however Irish in sentiment that literature may be, but more literature in Irish. To the latter I would say that even if it be certain that the Irish language will eventually come into its own, there will be a long interval of transition that must be provided for.[1] For the publishing crux I am not competent to suggest a remedy.

Fully aware of these and other difficulties it is with much diffidence that I venture on some slight suggestions. First then there exists already, hidden away in the back volumes of magazines a considerable body of quite good and thoroughly national fiction for boys. For instance there are in the National Library fifteen large volumes of a periodical entitled *Young Ireland* which ran from 1875 to 1890. It is full of splendid boys' stories by such writers as Charles Kickham, Justin McCarthy, V. O'D. Power, Richard Dowling, William Boyle, James Murphy, P. G. Smyth, and even Mayne Reid (" The Irish Mail," etc.). Again there is that excellent periodical, *Our Boys*, published under the direction of the Christian Brothers. There are many good boys' stories in the six volumes that have already appeared. Could not stories from these periodicals and others such as *The Shamrock*, *The Catholic Bulletin*, *Ireland's Own*, *The Irish Packet*, etc., etc., be reprinted in the form of a Fiction Library for boys ? Lastly would it not be possible for the Irish Catholic Truth Society and the *Irish Messenger* publishing office to enlarge their output of booklets specially intended for Irish boys and girls.

Far better would it be if some able writer or writers, under whose eyes these lines may happen to fall, should be thereby induced to turn his or their attention to the production of story books for Irish boys.

STEPHEN J. BROWN.

[1] Moreover in the case of Irish the publishing crux is even more acute than in the case of Anglo-Irish literature.

REVIEWS.

Art.

L'ART. Par Auguste Rodin. Entretiens réunis par Paul Gsell Paris : Bernard Grasset. 1919. 3 fr. 50.

THIS is a reprint, without illustrations, of the luxurious edition which appeared in 1911 at the price of six francs. It is not such good value for money as was the original edition, which must by now have greatly appreciated in cost. At the same time, one or other edition ought to be in the hands of everyone who thinks seriously about Art.

Rodin, in addition to his superlative ability as a sculptor and as a draughtsman, had a remarkable power of expression in words. His book on the French Cathedrals, which is not known as it should be, would alone prove this. It is by *L'Art*, however, that his literary fame will be best secured.

The book consists of thoughts, arranged in conversational form, wittily and eloquently phrased, on such subjects as :—Realism in Art, the Beauty of Nature, Movement in Art, Drawing and Colour, Modelling, the Beauty of Women, the Spirit of Yesterday and To-day, Thought in Art, Mystery in Art, Phidias and Michael Angelo, and the Utility of Art.

Those, and they are not few, who regard Rodin as " a sport " in the race of artists, an offshoot from stock, without ascertainable traditions or ancestry, will be surprised to find that the principal lesson of his book is " Aimez dévotement les maîtres qui vous précédèrent."

It is always so. Renoir, worshipped by " les Jeunes " as an artistic revolutionist, shocked some of them dreadfully by replying to a question as to where they might best learn painting : " Why, in the Louvre, of course." Cezanne whom many, otherwise good critics, still regard as an anarchist in the world of art, inculcated all through his life the reverent study of the old masters. It does not need Rodin to prove that inspiration in Art is largely a matter of evolution. But no one has yet dressed the proof in more attractive form.

THOMAS BODKIN.

DUBLIN TYPES. Drawn by Sidney Davies. Dublin: The Talbot Press. 1918. 5*s.* net.

THIS book consists of twelve reproductions in half-tone of large charcoal drawings. The original drawings did not lend themselves easily to reproduction: nor was the mode of reproduction chosen the best. They are not, therefore, of much value as works of art, despite the undoubted cleverness of the draughtsman.

But they will be appreciated by many Dublin people. For they record and perpetuate types familiar to us all. Scarcely a day can pass without our meeting "The Blind Whistler" who plies his art in Merrion Row, "The Harper" who is to be found in the quiet streets around Fitzwilliam Square, "The Flower Girl" who has her pitch near the Stephen's Green Club, or "The Street Singer" who would make Nassau Street more hideous than it is, were her wails not drowned by the traffic of trams and motors. It is a pity that "Endymion" and the Dancing Master with the gold brocaded waistcoats were not known to Mr. Davies. They were the princes and potentates of all "Dublin Types." It is not long since they have passed from our streets; but it was before Mr. Davies paid his flying visit to this country. Dubliners of an older generation will miss the gigantic policeman, "Madden's Baby." I do not suppose there are any of us left whose recollection goes back to the original Zozimus.

The best part of this book is the anonymous preface, which runs to more than half its bulk. It was written by some one who knows and loves his Dublin, and has the literary art requisite to communicate that love and knowledge. THOMAS BODKIN.

Biography.

INDIA'S NATION BUILDERS. By D. N. Bannerjea. London: Headley. 1919. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

THIS is frankly a most disappointing book. If one can imagine a series of biographical essays on O'Connell, Parnell, Redmond and De Valera in Hindustani for Indian readers which casually mentioned but did not explain Catholic Emancipation, the Plan of Campaign, the Convention and Sinn Fein, some idea may be obtained of Mr. Bannerjea's methods. The book, as the title denotes, consists of several short biographies of Indian national leaders. Ten pages of introduction are devoted to an attack on Mr. William Archer's book, *India and the Future*, an attack which chiefly consists of pointless and cloudy invective. No attempt whatever is made to explain such important matters as the genesis and growth of the Indian National Congress, the Swadeshi move-

ment, the periodic famines, the partition of Bengal, and the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. Mr. Bannerjea apparently assumes that his readers are likely to be as fully informed as himself concerning these matters, and no assumption could be more erroneous. The book is badly in need of a good introduction, explaining for the ordinary reader the political, social, economic, intellectual, and religious conditions in India.

The following is a good example of Mr. Bannerjea's method, or rather lack of method. In the first sketch, which deals with Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore, the poet, he mentions the Brahmo Samaj, but does not explain until dealing with other celebrities that this is a development of the Hindu religion which roughly corresponds to Unitarianism in the West. Later on he mentions the Arya Samaj, which is apparently another religious development, concerning which he vouchsafes no explanation whatever. In several of the sketches there is needless and irritating repetition, and the whole would have been much improved had it been submitted to any competent English-speaking publicist before publication. All Mr. Bannerjea's geese are swans, and one gets rather tired of being told that they are "highly respectable." His political standpoint is constitutional and displays a good deal of servility in discussing the doings of the British Raj, and his endeavours to describe the conduct of such stalwarts as Tilak, Chandra Pal and Lajpat Rai without giving offence to the ruling powers are distinctly homorous.

The book makes one realise that the similarity between Ireland and India is more apparent than real. Both countries, it is true, are ruled by an alien government; both have suffered from the encouragement of sectarian animosities, the suppression of industries, and have experienced the fruits of broken promises and hope deferred. Both Ireland and India are still awaiting redemption of the pledges made in 1912 and solemnly renewed in 1914, although it must in justice be admitted that a Commission of both Houses of Parliament (that hoary device of English politicians in a fix) is even now sitting in London to discuss the attenuated Montagu-Chelmsford Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms and the Home Rule Act is on the Statute Book! The real difference between Ireland and India lies not only in the diverse races of India, but in the ignorance of the Indian natives themselves. English dominion in India is based on the ignorance of her teeming millions; after a century and a half of British rule only ten per cent. of men and one per cent. of women have received an elementary education. That is the real stumbling block to the well-meaning efforts of Mr. Bannerjea and his kind

A recent English writer has divided all subject peoples into two classes, the babu and the barbarian, or, to put it in another way, the talker and the fighting man. The babu unfortunately predominates in India, and Mr. Bannerjea's book is a good example of his methods. JOHN J. HORGAN.

MEMOIR OF KENELM H. DIGBY. By Bernard Holland, C.B. London: Longmans. 1919. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.

KENELM Digby was of English descent, of Irish birth, and throughout life a spiritual denizen of half-ideal Catholic Middle Ages. The record of his ancestors, reaching back to the Crusades and the rival Roses, is romantic with tales of cavaliers, conspirators and beautiful ladies. His father, Dean of Clonfert and Rector of Geashill, was distinguished as athlete, skater, traveller, writer and lecturer, carpenter and landscape-gardener, painter and Hebrew scholar. His mother, a Miss Wood, was kin to the Abbé Edgeworth. His own life, reaching from 1800 to 1880, was long and honourable, but quiet and uneventful. He left Ireland when a boy and did not return; yet he retained affection for that country and its memories of ancient glories and Christian zeal. He wrote much and well, but far too copiously and easily, and one result of his lack of self-discipline in pruning is that his books are all by this time more or less forgotten. The too impatient modern world has been a loser by this; for *Mores Catholici, The Broad Stone of Honour, Comptum* and others of Digby's forty volumes contain precious lessons very well enforced—the more precious for these generations as they are little heeded and rarely preached.

They might be summed up as an abundant exegesis and enforcement of Burke's well-known text on the decay of chivalry. But Digby, while never rising to Burke's eloquence, is broader and deeper, more truthful and solidly persuasive, than (we believe) even the great orator would have been, had he made the subject *ex professo* his own. Chivalry, for Digby, is far from being the vanity of honour: it is the fine flower of Christianity in noble and elevated souls; the full light of Catholic faith is the sunlight under which it must grow and flourish. In developing these ideas he shows a mind broad and strong rather than exceptionally keen and active, and knowledge remarkably wide and sound of theology, history and literature. Incidentally, he is, as his biographer remarks, "an excellent guide in reading to those who prefer literature somewhat mellowed by time to the last books from Smith's or Mudie's, and the solid wisdom of ages to the latest theory in circulation." In life and writings he stood for the best things of many bygone generations.

If the merits of such a man, during the almost-century since he began to publish, have proved rather too solid for popular success, it cannot be said that his biographer fails to combine attractiveness of manner with value of matter. On the contrary, Mr. Holland has given us a book which, though we must feel that it does us good, may yet be safely recommended for holiday reading. G. O'N.

Celtica.

THE CONQUESTS OF CHARLEMAGNE. Edited from the Book of Lismore and three other vellum MSS. by Douglas Hyde, LL.D., D.Litt., M.R.I.A. London : Irish Texts Society. 1919. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

The latest volume of the Irish Texts Society is a welcome edition by Dr. Douglas Hyde of the Irish translation of the fabulous history of the Spanish Conquests of Charlemagne, often known as Turpin's Chronicle from the name of its supposed author. It forms one of a group of medieval Irish translations the special value and interest of which lie in their directness of style and simplicity of language, which offer a striking contrast to the archaism and artificiality of contemporary native productions. One need only compare the present text, which goes back to about A.D. 1400, with (say) Lughaidh O Cléirigh's *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill*, written two centuries later, to realise the gulf that must in those days have separated the language of the people from that of the professional literary classes.

The Irish version of Turpin's Chronicle is found in a number of widely scattered MSS., a fact which probably accounts for its having so long remained inedited. Dr. Hyde has based his text on that in the Book of Lismore, or rather on a copy of it made by O'Longan, and he has collated three other MSS., Eg. 1781 (British Museum), H. 2. 12 (T.C.D.), and a MS. in the Franciscan Library. He has also utilised a MS. in the King's Inns' Library to the extent of printing (pp. 122-123) the first few pages of the text as it stands in that MS. Besides these Nettlau (*Rev. Celt.* X. 462) mentions a fragment of the text in another Brit. Mus. MS., Eg. 92 ; and I have met a copy, written by one of the O'Clerys, in the R.I.A. MS., 24P12, pp. 59-106. This latter text has a few pages missing near the middle, but is otherwise complete ; and its end, it is worth noting, coincides with that of the Frankfort text of 1584 (=Hyde, p. 107, note *e*). It shares with the King's Inns MS. the distinction of being the only one in which the prefatory

epistle to Leoprandus is found. The difference, however, between these two MSS. and Dr. Hyde's text goes much further than this. Even a hasty and partial examination of the O'Clery MS., taken in conjunction with the extract from the King's Inns MS. printed by Dr. Hyde, is sufficient to show that we have here a completely new recension of the Irish text, if not indeed, as seems probable, a second and independent translation. It is to be regretted that Dr. Hyde did not have an opportunity of collating the R.I.A. and King's Inns MSS. with the others; it would have added not a little to the interest of his book if both Irish versions had been printed, preferably side by side.

Dr. Hyde has compared his Irish text with two editions of the Latin original—namely, the Frankfort edition of 1584 and that of F. Castets in 1880. He has been careful to point out in the footnotes where deviations occur in the Irish from these printed Latin texts; and he is uncertain (pp. viii.-xiii.) whether the absence of certain passages from the Irish version is to be ascribed to deliberate omission on the part of the translator, to careless copying on the part of transcribers, or to these passages having been lacking in the particular Latin text upon which the translator worked. The difficulty, as it happens, is solved by a fifteenth-century vellum in Trinity College, F. 5. 3. This MS. contains, in addition to a few Irish pieces, a number of medieval Latin texts, among them (pp. 107-130) a version of Turpin's Chronicle or, as it is termed, *Gesta Karoli in Hyspania*. A brief examination of this Hiberno-Latin version of the Turpin text reveals the interesting fact that it lacks those very passages that are wanting in the Irish version. Thus it agrees with the Irish text, and disagrees with the Frankfort and Castets editions, with regard to the omissions noted by Dr. Hyde on p. 9, note *b*; p. 31, note *g*; p. 57, note *f* (the three things in the wheel of a cart); p. 61, note *c* (example drawn from flight of bird); p. 67, note *d* (the *red* wagon); and p. 101, note *f* (names of bishops). Similarly certain passages omitted in the printed Latin versions are found equally in F. 5. 3 and in the Irish, as for instance four passages on p. 51 (notes *g*, *h*, *i* and *j*) and two on p. 55 (notes *a* and *b*). These similarities, not to mention others which might be adduced, show how very close is the relationship between the Latin version of F. 5. 3 and the Irish text. That, however, this Latin version cannot have been the *precise* original which the Irish translator had before him is shown, *e.g.*, by the fact that it omits a reference to Oger the Dane which is found in the Irish (Hyde, p. 30, l. 10) as well as in the printed Latin texts. The F. 5. 3 text, I may add, is a full

one, beginning with the Epistle to Leoprandus and including at the end the passage (Hyde, p. 118) which is wanting in the Book of Lismore.

In the Preface to his volume Dr. Hyde makes reference to romances "translated from French" into Irish in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and he specifically refers to "the translation of the French story *Fierabras*" as one of them. In this, however, I think he is mistaken. So far as I know, no medieval Irish translation from the French has come down to us; while as regards the romance of *Fortibras* (to give the name its Irish form), although Stokes, who edited it, by some strange oversight gave currency to the view that it was a translation of the Old French *chanson de geste*, it bears obvious marks of being translated from the Latin, and in fact an imperfect copy of such a Latin prose version, entitled *Gesta Karoli Magni*, is found in the MS. F. 5. 3 (pp. 85-100) to which I have just referred.[1]

In his Preface Dr. Hyde twice refers to "the Augustinian MS.," which is, of course, a slip for "the Franciscan MS." As regards the translation there are a certain number of renderings to which exception might be taken, but it would be ungracious to enumerate these, the more so as they are of little importance. I may however remark, with regard to the peculiar use of *theilg* on p. 2, that it is shown to be a close rendering of the *proposuit* of the Latin original by a passage in *Fortibras* (§12) in which it is similarly used, viz. *go dt[e]ilginn bass d'imert orum*, "that he tries to put me to death." In this sense *teilgim* is synonymous with *tairgim*.

It only remains for me to express the gratitude which—the above criticisms notwithstanding—all students of Irish will feel towards Dr. Hyde for having put them in possession of this interesting text, so long relegated to the obscurity of a MS. existence. The only cause of complaint that most readers will have is that the volume is so thin, *isé a locht a luighead*; but for this the Committee of the Irish Texts Society, and not Dr. Hyde, is responsible. We hope that Dr. Hyde will soon place us still further in his debt by giving us the Book of Lismore "History of the Lombards," which he had prepared for publication with the present text, but which was ruled out from motives of economy.

Thomas F. O'Rahilly.

---

[1] The latter half (roughly) of the text is now missing from the MS. The point at which it breaks off corresponds to p. 158, l. 20, of Stokes's edition of the Irish text in *Rev. Celt.*, xix.

Classics.

THE GREEK ORATORS. By J. F. Dobson. London: Methuen. 1919. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

It is not an easy thing indeed to do what Professor Dobson has attempted in this work, that is, to write a book at once useful for students of the Classical Faculty and for the general public. Yet he has undoubtedly succeeded. His sketch of the Greek Orators contains much information which the student would hardly find elsewhere, and many ideas which will be appreciated by a reader who approaches the subject for the first time. He treats of the Orators individually, that is of the dozen, roughly speaking, whose works have reached us in whole or in part. Sometimes, as in the case of the many-sided Aeschines, he succeeds in painting a character-sketch which is brilliant and yet, we believe, thoroughly true to life. The picture of Demosthenes is, perhaps, less striking in its originality, but considering all that has been written about that subject this was to be expected. And we must add that this chapter too we read with distinct pleasure and, we hope, profit. His remarks on the rhythm of Demosthenes appear to be sound as far as they go, but this subject might, perhaps, have been a little more elaborated without wearying even the general reader. He writes as though he had been himself wearied by the disquisitions of German and other authorities, and protests rightly against a method of enquiry which assumes that prose rhythm is to be regulated fundamentally by the rhythm of verse, a heresy which Zielinski's work undoubtedly propagated but which is now, in spite of his great influence, tending to disappear. The Demosthenic sound-technique is still waiting to be dealt with, and we hope that Professor Dobson will yet throw further light upon the subject.

As to the laws and tendencies which governed the development of Athenian Oratory as an art-form, the author has not written at great length—having given but a short introduction to his chapters on particular Orators or groups. Probably he did not wish to compete with Professor Jebb's classical work on this subject, to which Professor Dobson refers in his Preface saying that he would treat the Orators from a slightly different standpoint from that of Jebb and of Blass. Indeed it is evident that he wished to give us something fresh and personal; and we consider that he has succeeded in doing so, and that, considering the circumstances, is in itself no mean achievement. We shall look anxiously for further monographs from the pen of this writer. While works like his are appearing there can be small ground for the apprehension that classical study is about to be superseded in our Schools and Universities by something not merely more palatable but also more "alive."

H. B.

THE OCTAVIUS OF MINUCIUS FELIX. By J. H. Freese. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 1919. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

M. MINUCII FELICIS OCTAVIUS. With Introduction and Notes. By Rev. T. Fahy, M.A., Assistant Professor of Ancient Classics, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. Dublin: Educational Company of Ireland. 1919. 6*s.* net.

It is certainly to be regretted that the early Christian Latin writers are not more widely read. The student of Church History and Apologetics is too often content with mere references or extracts; the classical scholar scorns them as "late"; the lover of literature in general often has not got them at hand in a convenient and readable form. Yet these early Christian writers well deserve to be known both for their historical and for their literary value. As school books, too, we fancy the Christian Latin writers would have advantages over some of their pagan predecessors. The chief defects from a boy's point of view, in many of the authors commonly assigned for school reading are that they are not interesting enough and that they are too hard. In these respects Tertullian, Lactantius, and Minucius Felix compare favourably with the earlier authors.

The *Octavius* of Minucius Felix is a good specimen of this type of literature, and has been universally admired. It is usually referred to as a dialogue, though debate would be a fitter term. Minucius Felix, a Roman lawyer and himself a Christian, takes advantage of the vintage holidays to pay a visit to Ostia with two friends, a Pagan and a Christian. On their way to the beach one morning Caecilius, the Pagan, salutes a statue of Serapis in passing, and this draws adverse comment from Octavius, the Christian friend. They walk for a while by the sea and stop to watch some boys playing "ducks and drakes," a detailed description of the game being given. (Had the writer of the article on Minucius Felix in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* read his author, one wonders. According to him the friends stopped to "watch children jumping about in the sea"). This passage is one to store up in memory along with that other from the Iliad where Hector overthrows the wall of the Achaians "as when a boy scatters the sand beside the sea, first making sand buildings for fun as children will, and then again, for fun, overthrowing them with feet and hands." Homer, Minucius Felix, and ourselves are not so far separated after all. Then the three friends sit down on the breakwater and Caecilius, who had been annoyed by the remarks of Octavius a little earlier, delivers a diatribe against the Christians and their religion. Minucius says a few words by way of interlude and then Octavius replies

eloquently in defence of his religion. Minucius is not called upon to give his decision as arbiter, for Caecilius declares himself convinced. So the book ends.

In the two editions before us the general reader and the student respectively are catered for. The translation brought out by the S.P.C.K. is one of an excellent series of translations of the early Christian literature, both Latin and Greek. They will be a treasure to those who have not the originals at hand or who are not so fresh on their Latin and Greek as they might be. This translation of the *Octavius*, if it does not altogether throw off the thraldom of the Latin form of the original in places, is on the whole excellent and represents the spirit of the original faithfully. In one or two passages, not of any great import, the sense is not quite caught. A reference to Waltzing's commentary or to Fr. Fahy's notes would no doubt remedy this in future editions. A short introduction gives all that is necessary for a better understanding and enjoyment of the work. Besides its other merits the *Octavius* has the advantage of having a problem of literary history attached. Either Tertullian in his *Apologeticus* borrowed wholesale from the *Octavius* or Minucius Felix borrowed from the *Apologeticus*, but which came first has not yet been decided. Most authorities hold for the priority of Minucius Felix ; Harnack in his *Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur* gives eight arguments to prove that Tertullian came first, but none of them are at all conclusive. The problem will yield without doubt some day to patient investigation.

Fr. Fahy's edition is an admirable one of its kind. Everything that is expected in a high-class school edition is to be found in it. Of course we all know that there is much more in a school edition of the learned type than a schoolboy ever needs. Whether the schoolboy has any ground for complaint in this is an open question. But taking school editions as we find them this one stands in the very front rank. The portions of the Introduction dealing with the persons of the dialogue, the date of composition, and the purposes of the work, are extremely well done. The notes are full, and particularly rich in parallel passages. Altogether a scholarly and useful edition. This being so, it is to be regretted that there is a very serious objection to putting it in the hands of boys. Some of the charges brought against the early Christians were of a very gross nature. These appear in the *Octavius*, and are answered and thrown back with interest by the Christian defender. Detailed descriptions of pagan immoralities are hardly fit reading for the young. Yet in the present edition, which is confessedly meant for even young students, these places all appear unmodified.

There are at least half-a-dozen passages which should be omitted. As it stands this edition of the *Octavius* could not possibly be put in the hands of boys or girls. It should be remarked that the S.P.C.K. translation is unobjectionable in this respect. H. A. J.

History.

HISTORY OF MODERN FRANCE, 1815-1913. By Dr. Emile Bourgeois. London: Cambridge University Press. 1919. 21*s.* net.

FOR many obvious reasons, apart altogether from their intrinsic merits—which, however, are not few—M. Bourgeois' two volumes on the history of France since Waterloo can command a sympathetic welcome. In a work covering a period so extended, so rich in events, and so embarassingly well provided with the materials which form the foundation for the writing of history, the qualities which, in addition to the gift of clear exposition, we look for in the historian are sound judgment and impartiality. That fair-mindedness which consists in not misrepresenting facts to the detriment of one's opponents may be expected from any historian who is acquainted with his subject. A more subtle form of partiality is that which influences him in his choice from the countless number he must discard of those facts and pronouncements which are to be regarded as crucial and truly representative. It may be said at once that these volumes, except in dealing with "clericalism" and anti-parliamentarism, satisfy any such requirements as may reasonably be made.

The difficulties with which the author has had to contend are very great. The immense mass of historical material, the complexity of the problems, and the fact that most of them still possess a living actuality for modern political life are all factors that militate against success. There are undoubtedly counterbalancing advantages. No such effort of sympathetic imagination is required to place ourselves at the point of view of the parties in conflict, as is for instance often the case when we are dealing with more remote periods. And yet, perhaps, a danger, which M. Bourgeois has not altogether escaped, lurks here. For though the effort is not so great, yet some effort must be made. We doubt, for instance, whether the twentieth century reader is, without any help from the historian, in a position to do justice to the motives and political outlook of the Royalists and Conservatives of the Restoration period. We are apt to forget how natural their position seemed to them. Before the Revolution, among the

leaders of thought as well as among statesmen, Enlightened Despotism had long been regarded not as an abuse that had to be borne, but as the best form of government. True the Revolution had put forward another ideal. But the Revolution had been denounced through Europe as a disease, and to all seeming had been crushed by the victorious allies. However much we may condemn and disagree with such "antiquated" notions as were then current, in reading history we must endeavour to *understand* them. The world has moved so much since the days when the Statesmen of Europe proclaimed Legitimist Monarchy as the one solid prop of a crumbling society that the reader of to-day is apt to import his own fashions in political ideals into a very different intellectual atmosphere. We fear that M. Bourgeois' treatment may at times help to accentuate rather than correct this very natural propensity.

It might have been well too if more space had been given to explain not only the aims, but also the very narrow limitations of Liberalism. Many continental readers may, perhaps, know it for what it is, but others may easily be misled by the mere name. In a similar way M. Bourgeois is inclined to the misuse of words like the People and Public Opinion, which at his hands seem at times to be devoid of any definite significance, and to be very fluid conceptions indeed.

It may be, as is stated in the Editor's preface, the right (though we cannot agree that it is the duty) of a historian to sit in judgment on men and policies, using as his standard, apparently, some private ethical, political or religious ideal of his own. But if use is made of this privilege, it were better that the reader should know right out what this standard is. With such a "confession" before him he may be able to bring a more critical mind not only to the "sentences" pronounced, but even to the narrative itself. Too often, however, —and Mr. Bourgeois cannot escape criticism in these matters—it is impossible to discover the rational foundation for the strictures that are passed; they frequently seem to mean nothing more than that the historian is annoyed.[1] This desire for a preliminary rehearsal of the Judgment Day, with the Historian in the Judgment Seat, for which Lord Acton was such a strong advocate, at times makes itself more subtly felt. Epithets are used which claim to be purely descriptive, but which are accompanied with a kind of

[1] There are times when M. Bourgeois seems to feel that the scales have been allowed to tilt unduly to one side. He then tries to redress the balance by, as it were, forcing them over to the other side. But this process strikes us as something purely external, which does not get to the heart of the matter. The only result is to confuse his readers.

overtone of approval or condemnation. Thus in what, on its face value, seems purely narrative, a prejudice against a party or a cause may operate—even without the conscious intention of the writer—and be gradually inoculated into the reader. We cannot help feeling that for M. Bourgeois as for many in France "Clericalism is the Enemy." Furthermore there are some parties and "causes," with which he is so much out of sympathy—to mention two, the "Ultramontanes" and the opponents of parliamentarianism, whether autocratic or democratic—that at his hands they become no better than factions in the worst sense.

A subtle, but on the whole penetrating, anti-clerical bias constitutes one of the chief general defects in a work which is otherwise deserving of praise. That it should be somewhat uneven is inevitable. For instance there is a very sympathetic and very successful account and appreciation of the personality and policy of Louis Philippe. It is clear that Napoleon III. does not make the same appeal to the author, and his picture, though well and at times subtly drawn, is not quite so satisfactory a piece of work. Least adequate is the treatment of the progress of France under the government of Louis XVIII.

The criticisms that we have made apply almost exclusively to the domestic policy of France. Of the foreign policy and of its effect on home policy we have a careful and well-balanced account, which in most cases is strikingly impartial. This is all the more welcome, as since 1914 most historians have shown a marked eagerness to rewrite the history of the previous century in the light of most recent events. Of this tendency M. Bourgeois shows no trace.

The proof-reading, especially in the matter of some dates, might have been more diligent. J. M. O'S.

THE PACIFIC: ITS PAST AND FUTURE. By Guy H. Scholefield. London: Murray. 1919. 15*s.* net.

The title of this book is misleading. It deals almost entirely with the islands of the Pacific from an historical point of view and does not touch any of the really great problems now beginning to take shape in the East. For instance, the future expansion of Japan, the question of Asiatic emigration, and the relationship of the two Far Eastern powers with Europe are hardly treated at all, and yet therein lie some of the greatest problems which the future of the Pacific presents. But within the limits above mentioned Mr. Scholefield, who is apparently one of the latest finished products

of that excellent institution the London University School of Economics, has done his work well. The book is lucid, well put together, and admirably documented from original sources. It contains several good maps, an appendix of the more important documents cited, and an excellent chronology. As far as British policy in Australasia is concerned it is an invaluable summary and guide.

Mr. Scholefield is himself a New Zealander, and he rightly complains that it is hard to avoid a suspicion that in the eighties of the last century a certain measure of secret diplomacy was actually practised towards the Colonies. Nor is he altogether sure that such things may not occur in the future. His chapter dealing with the problem of Chinese and Japanese immigration in Australia is one of the most interesting in the book. The language test is apparently the principal barrier of exclusion. The question has a special interest; for it is the most recent one upon which the legislative veto of the Imperial Government has been imposed. In 1896 Bills from practically all the Australian Colonies seeking to apply the anti-Chinese restrictions to all Asiatics were reserved, and in 1910 the Royal assent was refused to a New Zealand Bill which sought to penalise vessels employing lascars. The unconquerable industrial virtues of the Chinese and the powers and prestige of Japan will eventually seek wider scope in the Pacific, and then the fortunes of white Australia with its attenuated population and tariff-bound economic life will be put to the test. Mr. Scholefield believes that the defeat of Germany has for the time being readjusted the economic opportunities of China and Japan in Asia and that they will no longer seek an Australian outlet for their energies; yet it is quite obvious that the present position is unhealthy and unreal and cannot be maintained.

Interesting light is thrown on the possibilities of colonial government under the League of Nations, or what is left of it, by the practical working of the British and French Condominium in the New Hebridies. The complexity of the system has evoked from both French and British residents an endless series of complaints as to "the uncertainty of the law, the inertness of the administration, and the tardy dispensation of justice. Complaint is made that neither French nor British colonists are receiving fair treatment at the hands of their respective governments, and that the New Hebridies question remains a menace not only to the political and material well-being of these islands, but also to the harmonious relations of the South Pacific and the Commonwealth generally." With such an example before them it is not surprising

that the Colonial statesmen at Paris were careful to copper-fasten the various mandates they received ; and their attitude, if cynical, is, perhaps, in the long run, more satisfactory. As Mr. Wilson's ideals have been openly flouted in Europe, one can hardly be surprised that they are at a discount in the Tonga Islands.

The perusal of this book throws a remarkable flood of light on the haphazard nature of English colonial expansion. More often than not the initiative came from the Colonies themselves, and it was not till the galvanic personality of Chamberlain took control that any continuity or broad purpose was apparent in Imperial policy. It is now quite clear that Colonial development in future will be centrifugal rather than centripetal, and even such an ardent Imperialist as Mr. Hughes has just reminded the Australian Parliament that Australia has entered into the family of nations on a footing of equality and that he is incurably opposed to what is called Imperial Federation. " The idea of an Imperial Parliament is a vision which can never take substantial shape ; for it is incompatible with the status of sovereignty which the Dominions jealously prize." (Speech of September 10, 1919). A nation that insists on its sovereignty, that maintains its right to enter on equal terms a conference of free and independent nations and to discuss not only Australian but European affairs, which can make or refuse to make treaties, impose tariffs and create and control its own army and navy is a nation independent in all respects. Mr. Hughes is right in insisting that a " fundamental change " has taken place. The colonies are no longer colonies, but partners in an equal alliance. This fundamental change, which Mr. Scholefield does not discuss, will also have its reaction on the future of the Pacific.

JOHN J. HORGAN.

PEACE MAKING AT PARIS. By Sisley Huddleston. London : Fisher Unwin. 1919. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

WE have here a trustworthy, well-balanced and entertaining book on the Peace Conference. It may be some time before we get anything better on " the broad currents of the Conference "—and it is to these that the author expressly limits his treatment, refusing to lose himself and his readers in the immense mass of detail that was at his disposal. With the trend of events as sketched by Mr. Huddleston many may feel profoundly dissatisfied ; but this is, unfortunately, no good reason for calling in question the general trustworthiness of his version.

But Mr. Huddleston not only gives us a lively narrative of

events, he also supplies us with a critical appreciation of leading men, motives and results. For as a political moralist he is, or wishes to be, a strong Wilsonian. Both sides of his work will give the reader food for thought, though, perhaps, not always in the same direct way. We have brief but telling character-sketches of the "Big Four"—of those men who "alone were responsible for the peace which was prepared," on whose "shoulders lay the crushing weight of the world," who "were supreme as no body of men in history has been supreme." "The Autocrat of the Green Table was a title coined for Mr. Wilson. It might well have been applied to any one of the Four." More space is given to Mr. Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George than to the other two; and, perhaps, the general reader will have no quarrel with this partiality.

> Mr. Wilson was, I am persuaded, genuinely and nobly anxious to serve the nations to make a just peace which would be durable (p. 70). [But] he was beaten at almost every point by the diplomatists of Europe (p. 81). While Mr. Wilson keeps in contact with the people he is strong, but behind closed doors he is weak. He gives way in the end if only he is pressed long enough. He saved the League alive; that is his triumph; but he abandoned one by one his famous Fourteen Points (p. 92). Mr. Wilson is not a strong man. I had the privilege of friendship of an admirer of the President who is a keen observer and is not blind to his defects. Mr. Wilson is, according to his opinion, which he has come to after long observation and some intimacy, not a strong man. He is a sincere man. He is a good man. He is one of the most eloquent of men. He can find formulae which make his speeches masterpieces of persuasive oratory. . . . But, unlike some men, who are inspired by their own utterances, who are stirred to action after listening to themselves, Mr. Wilson expends all his energy in words. . . . A direct attack on his position would awaken his combative instinct; but a flank attack and he would be lost (pp. 104-107).

Mr. Bullit's famous appeal in his letter of resignation to his President, praying him even at the eleventh hour to go back to his principles and rely on the people, had only the effect of stiffening his back and making him the more resolute not to alter the treaty. "He had agreed to the treaty; therefore it must square with the Fourteen Points. Not for a moment would he acknowledge that it could be otherwise or that he had been outwitted, outargued, outplayed in the diplomatic game" (p. 206). Whether he demanded a similar act of faith in reference to the treaty which the Austrians had to sign, largely "in blank," is not clear.

From Mr. Huddleston one would gather that the good guardian angel, the practical idealist, the most effective person of the Conference was Mr. Lloyd-George. At one period he even "burned with enthusiasm for the rights of peoples. He saw the folly of any other policy." But apparently he, like Mr. Wilson, was forced to give way to the "stern reality." He is, however, "the

quickest sightest man in Europe." To him apparently is due the fact that even some shreds of the Wilsonian policy remained—one sometimes wonders whether absolute nakedness is not less indecent than insufficient clothing.

> Between these two antagonists—Mr. Wilson and M. Clemenceau— he played the part of intermediary. He is agile, full of brilliant but sometimes dangerous compromises : a man capable of noble impulses, but who is too often an opportunist. By leaning to one side or the other he could turn the scales as he wished. It must be acknowledged that he was the veritable master of the Conference. Sometimes he would be swayed by Clemenceau's arguments, only he would put them in a smoother and more acceptable manner. He could make the most materialistic consideration sound like a fine principle. Sometimes he would be swayed by Mr. Wilson's arguments ; and then he would interpret them in the practical terms which M. Clemenceau loves. Thus, whichever way he turned, he won. He made the French and the American autocrats dance to his piping. He was the super-autocrat (pp. 107, 108).

Mr. Huddleston lays much emphasis on the formation of two camps within the Big Four, the Anglo-Saxon and the Franco-Italian. Perhaps he is right ; one cannot at times help the feeling that the characteristics of the Colonial have reappeared in some of the descendants of the men who secured America's liberty. The only tangible effect of the enunciation of Wilsonian principles on the proceedings and results of the Conference seems to have been an increase of the diplomatic, strategic and imperialist strength of England. True, Mr. Wilson, in enunciating his principles and claiming for them the dominating position, accomplished a work which even the proceedings of the Conference and his own conduct there may not be able to undo.

But if Mr. Lloyd-George was the good angel, one gathers from Mr. Huddleston (though he may not, perhaps, quite fully intend it) that the French were the opposite. Their foreign office is of " all the Foreign Offices of Europe the most difficult to understand because its policy is generally without purpose ; and it is not really acquainted with the personalities of other countries. It has a curious conception of foreign affairs, is obstinate and intensely conservative " (p. 44). In these French statesmen " the old Adam dies hard." They would insist, in spite of Mr. Wilson's fine principles, and in contravention of them, in seeking guarantees for their future safety. It is easy to see that Mr. Huddleston has little sympathy with these obstinate opponents of the better future. It might, of course, be said in their defence that they never made the same parade of altruistic aims that the others did. They might also feel some wonder at Mr. Huddleston's lack of self-consciousness where his own country is concerned.

In fact right through—and this is what makes one somewhat pessimistic—the author shows himself a genuine believer in the application of Mr. Wilson's principles to countries outside the British Empire. He denounces imperialism, selfishness, blindness to the new glorious vision—in others. If this very sincere prophet of the Wilsonian era of good will among the nations is so much alive to the faults of other countries and so blind to similar faults of his own, what can be expected of the unregenerate? Where is the hope that the nations will understand one another? The peace drawn up by the Big Four, he concedes, is about as bad as it could be, and the Conference could be marked down the biggest failure in history were it not for the League. But at present, he would allow, the League is a poor thing enough. Goodwill and mutual understanding are necessary to make it work. But in this respect we must confess we find Mr. Huddleston's optimism more disturbing than the pessimism of the more cynically-minded. If the convinced idealist can only see the mote in his neighbour's eye, what can be hoped for from the others?

The conflict between performances and promises, even on such matters as publicity and the share to be taken in the peacemaking by the smaller powers represented at Paris, is clearly brought out. In fact on the unexampled incapacity and indecision as well as on the selfishness of the statesmen Mr. Huddleston is very severe. The Conference "studied no question deeply," "always evaded the big questions," and seemed "incapable of settling anything." But there are so many good things in this excellent volume that it is impossible even to hint at any more of them without unduly overstepping our limits. J. M. O'S.

Philosophy.

MORAL VALUES AND THE IDEA OF GOD. By W. R. Sorley, Litt.D., LL.D. London: Cambridge University Press. 1918. 16*s.* net.

Professor Sorley's *Ethics of Naturalism* and *Recent Tendencies in Ethics* are amongst the most valuable additions made to Philosophy in England in recent years. His new book, *Moral Values and the Idea of God*, achieves an even higher end, a deeper purpose. The problems considered are larger, the method more positive and constructive, the judgment, if more hesitating, is also more mature. From the point of view of mere intellectual achievement Professor Sorley's new book is quite on a level with the best work of Green,

Bradley, or Ed. Caird, and it surpasses them in interest and suggestiveness. No student, whether he agrees with Professor Sorley's philosophy or not, can lay down this book without feeling that even the oldest problems can be made new with new handling by a master, and that even in connection with long familiar questions the best answering of one period will not be found adequate at another, since it is only gradually that the full import of even the simplest problem comes to be disclosed.

It would be impossible here to give a satisfactory view of the variety of problems treated in Professor Sorley's work. The whole question of "values" is considered in the fullest way, value simply, moral value, value and personality, relative and absolute value, the conservation of value, value and reality. Then there is an able analysis of reality and its divisions, a dissertation on the unity of reality, and a far-reaching discussion of the interpretation of reality. The chapters dealing with Theism, and with the proofs for the existence of God are stimulating; but I must frankly confess that the arguments here are somewhat disappointing, and that Professor Sorley would have learned a great deal by a more sympathetic study of the *De Deo Uno* of St. Thomas Aquinas in the *Summa Theologica*. For instance, in connection with the problem of the necessity of a first cause for the world, Professor Sorley emphasises the old difficulty of "who caused the first cause" without any attempt to consider the splendid answer of St. Thomas, in which he shows that in the series of causes it is possible to get back to one whose existence is identical with his essence, and therefore whose existence need not be due to any outside agent. Indeed it would be a good thing if Professor Sorley were to examine this portion of the *Summa* thoroughly and also the *De Ente et Essentia*. He would find it finer reading than anything in Kant or Hegel.

Perhaps the most interesting portion of this splendid work is that in which the writer expounds his view of God as neither external to the world nor identical with it, but as the ground or support of the world, and as the "final home of values, the Supreme Worth." God, he tells us, is not the Absolute in the sense of "the sum-total of reality." But "there is nothing outside God in the sense of being fully independent of his being and will." Moreover, it will be found, he tells us, that finite minds attain unity with the Supreme Mind, "not by the absorption of their individuality, but by the perfecting of their character in co-operating with the divine purpose."

In this chapter occurs what to the mind of the present reviewer

is the best answer yet given to the old difficulty of the relation of freedom to God's foreknowledge.

> If we remember [he writes] that the Infinite Mind is not limited to a finite span of the time process, we must allow that, notwithstanding the free causation of finite minds, the actions which we call future are yet eternally present to his knowledge. To a mind which transcends time there cannot be the difference which exists for us between memory and foresight: the past and the future must be equally open to his view. Universal determination contradicts freedom: universal knowledge does not.

We may not be in agreement with all of Professor Sorley's views; but there can be no doubt of his high-mindedness and serious purpose throughout this able work. Catholic readers will here find many things to help them to understand a mentality very foreign to the traditional doctrine, which yet is not without its value, as confirmatory, in many points, of approved Catholic teaching in the domain of Morals and Natural Theology.

MICHAEL CRONIN.

THE INTUITIVE BASIS OF KNOWLEDGE. An Epistemological Inquiry. By N. O. Lossky, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Petrograd. Authorized translation by Nathalie A. Duddington, M.A. With a preface by Professor G. Dawes Hicks. London: Macmillan. 1919. Pp. xxix+420. 16*s*. net.

RECENT philosophy has been marked by an ever increasing note of Realism. From widely different quarters this new strain has been voiced, sometimes by thinkers who are working themselves free from subjectivist theories of knowledge, oftener in open protest against the long domination of those theories. The contributions to the new Realism have been somewhat spasmodic. There is as yet no unity of front among its defenders, and its tendencies have not yet been worked out or systematised. One may forecast with probability that the coming epoch in philosophy will be considerably occupied with reconstruction on a Realist basis. In the working out of this formidable programme it is likely that some of the formulae now boldly proclaimed will be found too sweeping, and will have to be limited by compromises with the psychological point of view.

The present work (which appeared in Russian in 1904 and 1905 and in a German translation in 1908) is one of the most systematic attempts that have been made in this direction.

Lossky connects his theory, which he calls "intuitionalism," and also "mystical empiricism," with tendencies in Russian

philosophy due to influences partly of Schelling and Hegel, partly of Leibniz. He allows us, however, in this book only very slight glimpses of his metaphysical views, and there is little in it to justify the epithet "mystical." Whether he believes with Kozlov, to whom he refers as his master, in an immediate consciousness of God, he does not tell us: the intuitionalism which he defends in this work is merely the doctrine of immediate knowledge of the external world generally.

His central thesis is that the object known, whether it be a subjective fact or something quite external to the self, is immediately present to the mind. This is variously expressed by saying that the mind "contemplates" or has an intuition of the real world, or that the real world is present to the mind, or is immanent in the process of knowledge. He directs his attacks expecially against "transcendent" theories of knowledge. This is his one point of agreement with Kant, whose general theory he completely rejects. The great error of theories of knowledge from Descartes onward has been to separate knowledge, as consisting of subjective ideas, from reality. Not a subjective copy or appearance or impoverished replica of the reality is the immediate object of knowledge, but the existing thing itself in its real nature and with all its fulness of being and activity, is present to or immanent in the act of knowledge. Neither does the mind in any sense create or produce the objects of knowledge, and nothing whatever of the mind's construction or contribution enters into them.

This thesis is sustained partly indirectly by the very able destructive criticism of various theories of knowledge, empiricist and rationalistic, which fills nearly half of the book; partly as emerging from a direct analysis of the act of knowledge as it is experienced by the knowing subject. The latter procedure is, however, only sketchily worked out, and not emphasized as a distinctive method: there is no approach to the completeness with which it is carried through, *e.g.*, in Husserl's "phenomenological" investigations.

Having shown that reality is immanent in knowledge, he proceeds in the Second Part to work out the theory of knowledge on this basis. The mere presence of the real object in the mind is not yet knowledge. "Until reality is subjected to comparison, it flows before me as something dark, formless, unconscious." Knowledge consists in differentiating the real world by comparison, and so takes the form of judgment. The nature and distinctions of judgment, the distinction of individual and universal, the direct and indirect methods of knowledge, are discussed at length, and

new light is shed on them from the intuitonalist standpoint. From this point of view it is shown that the distinction of analytic and synthetic judgments, and that of *a priori* and *a posteriori*, lose their significance; and that the "law of sufficient reason" is the chief law of thought. Space does not permit me to deal at any length with this instructive portion of the book. J. SHINE.

Poetry.

HYMENAEA AND OTHER POEMS. By Robin Flower. London: Selwyn and Blount. 1918. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

TWELVE POETS: A Miscellany of New Verse. Same publishers. 5*s.* net.

LIADAIN AND CURITHIR. By Moireen Fox. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell. 1917. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

A WIND as of Spring blows through the poems of Robin Flower, a fragrance of Spring is about them. He is a poet of the open-air, a singer who must be out of doors. As we listen to him we think of a bird singing in the branches rather than of some poor prisoner piping in a cage. This does not mean that he is of the tribe of nature poets—of those whose eyes are filled with the beauty of all things that grow, and whose ears are filled with the singing of streams and of birds. These things are in his poems indeed, but it is not of these he sings. His themes are spiritual rather than material, but he takes his images from stars and the wings of birds and blowing flowers, and for his colours he makes a palette of sky and sea and the multitudinous leaves.

He is never violent; he is scarcely vigorous. His words are finely chosen, his phrase is delicately fashioned. Delicacy and refinement are the touchstones of his method. The influence of his Irish studies is seen in the flowing sinuous line of his rhythm which has the motion of running water where with another we would hear the measured tramp of feet. We see how completely the poet is its master in *The Pipes*—one of the successes of the book—so that it will not hold one rigid way, but flows sweetly in the channels he has made for it.

His sonnets do not satisfy us—not indeed that they are wanting in his characteristic excellences, for we have always the delicate phrase, the flowing rhythm, the well-chosen epithet, but not always do we discover the vital quality of the sonnet. The sequence of thought is not that of the sonnet. The one idea, and its march and development from the opening line to the closing couplet—inevitable as the surge and subsidence of a wave—these are wanting.

Sometimes the omission of the couplet would leave us a complete poem of three quatrains, witness sufficient that here we may have a poem indeed, but we have not the genuine sonnet.

The book contains four poems derived from Irish sources—all of interest indeed, but not all of equal merit. *The Charm* is altogether successful, but the many beautiful lines in *Saint Ite* cannot reconcile us to the poet's too literal and sensuous reading of the tale on which it is based.

There is a delightful freshness in the poems gathered together under the title of *Twelve Poets.* We are conscious as we read them of the search for a new method, the discarding of outworn metres, the reaching after a more flexible rhythm, as for example in *Good-night*, and *The Ash Grove* by Edward Thomas who has the distinction of giving a very satisfying opening to a book of very good verse. A. Hugh Fisher's Wordsworthian piping—sounding so quaintly in the midst of so much that is new—reminds us that the poets of this company were not the first to break with an old tradition. The skilful and not too obtrusive internal rhyming of John Freeman in *Broad Be Thy Light, O Land*, shows how the makers of new verse in English may borrow with profit from the old makers of verse in Irish. Robin Flower we are glad to meet with again in this volume where he is represented chiefly by translations from the Irish. Of these one at least—*The Lovely Lady*—is perfect, and students of Irish verse will note with delight the felicitous rendering into English of many a well-known phrase. Perhaps the most successful poem in the book is that with which it closes—W. J. Turner's *Clerks on Holiday.*

Moireen Fox is another of those who seek for a new way in poetry, though she borrows her theme from a tale that is ancient enough. She is not so much concerned to give us a new telling of a forgotten tale, as to make its heroine live for us again, but the Liadain of her poem is more the creature of her imagination than the Liadain of the old story. We do not quarrel with her for this, nor for altering the story where it does not square with her conception of the heroine, for after all she aims to give us a poem, and not a historical document, but we cannot agree that a penitent Liadain would not be as convincing at the close of the tale as the terribly tragic figure who takes farewell of us uttering the despairing cry :—

> All things are outworn now—grief is dead,
> And passion has fallen from me like a withered leaf.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> My heart is like a stone in my body.
> All I have grasped I loose again from my hands.

The free unrhymed form in which the poet has chosen to cast her verse, is admirably suited to the untamed and passionate spirit of her heroine. If her sinewy willowy phrases have sometimes an echo of Mr. Yeats, it is no more than a good poet may owe to an elder brother of the craft. Power and originality we must concede to our author, and a gift of imagination which ensures the imagery so necessary to a successful treatment of her theme. She has given us a poem dramatic in conception, intense in feeling, and pitched at a high level of execution which is sustained to the end. It is a welcome addition to the literature which has its roots in the legends and traditions of early Ireland. C. O'B.

THE RHYME OF THE SERVANTS OF MARY. By Helen Parry Eden. With an illustration by Denis Eden. London: Burns and Oates. 1919.

Mrs. Eden is like one of those proverbial and objectionable birds who can sing and won't. Her first book of poems, "Bread and Circuses," appeared in 1913. It consisted of seventy-five lyrics, everyone of which was remarkable and original, and many of which showed beauty, tenderness and melody in rare degrees. The book was well received. There was a general consensus of opinion among critics of all calibres that a new poet of notable gifts had swum into their ken. Mrs. Eden neglected to follow up her advantage. Five years elapsed before she published her next book, "Coal and Candlelight," which only contained twenty-seven poems. It recalled, however, her first triumph, and her admirers agreed that she had not lapsed from the high standard she had set herself save in the matter of energy. We were not kept waiting so long for her third book, "The Rhyme of the Servants of Mary"; but it is, in point of bulk, a dreadfully disappointing production, a single religious poem describing the foundation, in twelfth-century Florence, of the religious order of the Servites, of which the author has recently become a tertiary. The poem is written in forty-nine seven-line Stanzas. It is prefaced by a short dedication in verse.

The high quality of the "Rhyme of the Servants of Mary" may be gauged from the following—the first two stanzas:—

> O Queen, too late I come to weave thy crown.
> Where are the daisies Catholic Chaucer plucked,
> Now when the flowers of speech are overblown
> And the last rind of rhetoric is sucked?
> What is my rhyme? A ruined aqueduct
> Which from its broken arches drips and spills
> On the parched plain the water of the hills!

> Yet Queen of Cana, sanctify this marriage
> Of Verse and dear Devotion. Thou whose least
> Word with thy Son averted the miscarriage
> Of a poor banquet, save my wedding feast;
> Let not my guests rise thirsty and displeased;
> Plead with his bounty and replenish thence
> The failing measures of mine eloquence.

Accomplished and pleasant as is this latest work of Mrs. Eden's, it will not satisfy us. No positive faults can be found with it; but it falls short, all the same, of excellence. It is not an outstanding poem, nor a compelling sermon, nor a conclusive history. Religious poems are not written nowadays—I know not what the reason may be, but the fact remains. "The Hound of Heaven" is the exception to prove the rule. The passion and exultation of the Song of Songs, the quivering anguish of the Stabat Mater, the love and learning of Dante are not echoed in the frigid "Dream" of Cardinal Newman nor in the polished niceties of Mrs. Meynell.

Let Mrs. Eden go back to her first manner, when she so often made the pretentious pages of Punch pleasant with some delicious lyric about "Betsey-Jane," "Four-paws," "Effany" or "the apple-man." Let her recall again the wistful mood of her lovely poem to the bird singing late in a wet twilight. Let but her Superior among the Servites bind her under holy obedience to produce more things of the sort, and he will do a good work, redounding even more to the honour of his Order than does the sweet and clever "Rhyme of the Servants of Mary."

Thomas Bodkin.

SOUL'S BELFRY, AND OTHER VERSES. By Henry E. G. Rope. The Stretton Press. 1919. 2*s.* net.

Father Rope's verses are good to read after so much that is maudlin and insincere. Here we are conscious of fine enthusiasms, of a great sincerity, and of a vitality for the infection of which we are grateful. His verses are filled with a great love for the Catholic Church and all it stands for, and a tender appreciation of that clean and sturdy, yet gentle civilisation of which it is the parent. We are touched by the lines which show his love for Ireland and the sons who have laboured and suffered for her. He loves her not only because she is so truly a child of the Catholic Church, but because being weak she is oppressed, perhaps also because he finds in her that spirit with which he himself is so much on fire, a love of the spiritual to the scorn of material things.

Among the other motives that inspire his verse are a great yearning for the conversion of England, which is finely expressed in the verses *Watchman, what of the Night?* He is not afraid to lead a forlorn hope. The "crass commercial way," the tyranny of the machine over man, the cancer of material progress whose success engenders so much ugliness to take the place of the beauty it destroys—these are among the windmills he would tilt at. His heart is in the countryside and the quiet valleys, not only for the beauty that is theirs, but for the repose, the clean and simple living that go with them. The loftiness of his appeal and the sincerity of his verse should gain for him many appreciative readers. C. O'B.

Social and Political Science.

WORLD POWER AND EVOLUTION. By Ellsworth Huntington, Research Associate in Geography in Yale University. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1919. $2.50.

In this book Mr. Huntington extends the work he reported in his *Civilization and Climate*, where he showed that the distribution of civilization is always closely associated with the distribution of peculiar climatic temperature, humidity, and variability. In *World Power and Evolution*, as a geographer and evolutionist, he develops an argument that there is a causal relationship between conditions of physical health and the great differences in man's activity from region to region, and in various epochs, and that physical health is an effect of climatic influences.

By reversing the curve of the death rate over a large part of western Europe and the United States he gets the health curve for years and for many millions of people. He then shows by statistical curves how the ebb and flow of the stock market, the rise and fall of prices, and the fluctuations of prosperity and immigration, before the war, followed this health curve in a surprising parallelism. He finds that the cause of the fluctuations in health are variations in climatic temperature, humidity and variability. The best climatic condition for health and activity, as he proved in *Civilization and Climate*, is a temperature of about 60 degrees F., with a mean humidity near 80 per cent., and a frequent change of temperature which gives the needed variability.

Mr. Huntington is an extreme evolutionist. He asserts as dogmatically as a Haeckel that we all can trace our physical and mental genealogy back in an unbroken line through the Pithe-

canthropus to the primeval ooze. He then applies the facts, which he had presented so ingeniously in the first part of his book, concerning the influence of climate upon organic forms, to the evolutionist's notions on the physical and mental development of man and animals. He bridges over all bad rifts in the genealogy of evolution by opportune climatic mutations. No one objects to this method in a theory, but when used as fact in a downright claim it is naive if not unscientific. There are innumerable statements in the doctrine of evolution which we all admit, but the evolution of Haeckel, Weismann, and the confiding small physicist is not only unproved, but it is a very easy task to show that it is impossible. If these evolutionary chapters in the book are merely a re-statement of the old unprovable assertions, nevertheless his original discoveries in climatology are of real scientific value, and he deserves the highest honour for them.

He enumerates the recent European and American contributions to the artificial development of mutations in certain insects, and some of the varieties produced are apparently permanent. The changes were brought about by the application of heat and cold to eggs or larvae. He is inclined to make a species of a variety, but the important deduction is that the heat and cold and other elements of climate have to do with differentiation in evolution, which is most probably a fact. It is claimed that the cephalic index of the American born children of Jewish immigrants is three degrees lower than that of their parents, and he thinks this result is climatic and not economic, because the economic condition of the Jew in America is about the same as it was in Europe. He is of the opinion that the marked physical difference between the reddish Ashkenazim and the brunet Shephardim Jew is climatic. The rise and fall of the Roman republic and empire were, according to him, climatic in cause, and there is much truth in the claim; but there were certainly moral causes and physical which were independent of climate, even indirectly. He thinks the condition of Turkey is also climatic. The Turk's religion as a cause is ignored.

Throughout the book he ignores the effect of sunlight, which has often been a much more potent factor in human history than any other climatic force. In any given locality temperature, humidity and variability affect the health and activity of the native population; but the sunlight, as far as the indigenous race is concerned, is a force inseparably bound up with these elements as the chief cause of their existence. The sunlight of a given region, however, is certainly and inevitably destructive to immigrants

from a distance, and is the chief force in the evolution of the great divisions of mankind.

Once or twice he is conscious that he may be accused of riding a hobby too far, and he tries to show that he is not. Perhaps he would find some difficulty in convincing us that the present social chaos in Europe and America is climatic. It seems to have a certain connection with the war and the devil. Mr. Huntington's work, however, even if we do not always agree with him, is most original and interesting, and it is a real contribution to our scientific knowledge, for which we should be thankful. A. O'M.

THE GUILD STATE. By G. R. Stirling Taylor. London: Allen and Unwin. 1919. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

GUILD SOCIALISM. By Francis Goldwell. Oxford: Catholic Social Guild. 1918. 6*d.* net.

Mr. G. R. Stirling Taylor belongs to the school which favours Local Guilds rather than National Guilds. He is a Mediaevalist rather than a Modern, and stands with such Guild advocates as Mr. A. J. Penty rather than such as Mr. G. D. H. Cole. The chief virtue of Guilds to Mr. Taylor is the power of self-management that they give to the workers; but there cannot be this power in a large Guild any more than in a large nationalised concern, and National Guilds would inevitably suffer from the centralisation and bureaucracy which the Guild system aims to avoid. Mr. Taylor lays it down as a main principle that "No guild should be larger than the smallest possible unit that the efficiency of the trade or occupation demands." As stated, this is a very elastic principle, and "efficiency" might be pleaded to justify most monstrous growths. Efficiency nowadays is understood to mean large output at low relative costs, and advocates of large-scale production will nearly always win their case if "efficiency" be the test. In all his constructive suggestions Mr. Taylor is very guarded and even timid. He reserves his dogmatism for destructive criticism of prevailing conditions. The most urgent problems that Guildsmen have to face are not considered by Mr. Taylor. On the question of "transition," for instance, the question of how Guilds are to be established in place of the existing system Mr. Taylor tells us that the change will be slow and gentle and that it will never be quicker than the capacity of the members (the workers) for the next step; but this only tells us of the pace of the transition and nothing of the mode. Some inferences, however, may be drawn from Mr. Taylor's statement in favour of Co-Partnership, which is anathema

to the majority of Guild advocates. On the whole, Mr. Taylor has written an interesting and very readable essay, but he has contributed no new idea to the discussion of Guilds.

The writer who uses the pseudonym of Francis Goldwell describes his work in a sub-title as "a criticism of the National Guild theory." It is a very sympathetic criticism, and the writer shows himself as averse from Capitalism as from Collectivism. He also, like Mr. Taylor, thinks large National Guilds would be bureaucratic, and would have that "danger of oppression of the individual by the all-powerful organisation" which is the chief argument urged against State Socialism. Francis Goldwell favours Guilds in which the means of production will be privately but co-operatively owned, for he regards the maintenance of private property as essential to a free State. This is a very useful little book, and the reader wishes that it were longer so that a fuller treatment of the question could have been given. H. S.

PARLIAMENT AND THE TAXPAYER. By E. H. Davenport. London: Skeffington. 1918. 6*s.* net.

This work forms an important addition to our existing literature on Public Financial Administration. It covers to some extent the ground already traversed by Mr. Hilton Young and Mr. Durrell; but it contains a good deal of valuable criticism and suggestion that is quite new. The first part of the work is historical, giving a full account of the manner in which the present system of financial administration has been evolved: the second is critical and constructive, and is likely to produce important practical results in altering the existing system of parliamentary control. Since the appearance of the present work a big change has occurred in Parliamentary procedure which one cannot help thinking is largely due to the suggestions offered by Mr. Davenport[1] towards the end of his work. The consideration of the estimates has been removed almost completely from the competence of the Committee of Supply, and entrusted to a small Standing Committee. The change is most welcome, since it will secure fuller and better discussion of the estimates on the financial as opposed to the political side, the latter being of chief interest to the old Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. Davenport gives a very interesting account of the formation of, and the recommendations made by the Select Committee on National Expenditure 1917-18. The recommendations of this

[1] And which in turn are based on the work of the Select Committee of 1917-18.

Committee are of the highest importance; but one cannot help thinking that too much importance has been attributed to the question of the form in which the estimates are presented and too little to the actual control exercised by the Treasury in their formation. Mr. Davenport might have done a very useful work in criticising the present system under which the Army estimates are formed in conjunction, not with the Treasury, but with an internal army committee, and in suggesting a method by which the Treasury might be given some degree of control while the army estimates are being prepared. We all know that once an item appears on the final draft of the estimates it is a thousand to one that it will remain there, so little discretion has the House in controlling and directing expenditure. Yet it is only when the estimates are fully drafted that they are brought under the eye of any but army authorities and officials. Again, it is certain that the representatives of the people ought to be given some authority in connection with appropriations-in-aid, which now represent such a large part of what is really revenue, and which, nevertheless, are wholly at the disposal of the departments. Now that the war is over there should be no difficulty whatever in extending the powers of the Treasury so as to take in the army estimates from their very foundation. Certainly until this is done there can be no economies effected in this the most important part of the national expenditure.

If a National Parliament should be set up in Dublin, it is of the highest importance that the system of financial administration obtaining in England should be closely scrutinised, and that all in that system that is archaic or unsuitable should be eliminated. To adopt without serious modification the procedure followed in England would be disastrous here.

I heartily recommend Mr. Davenport's book to such readers of STUDIES as are interested in this very important branch of Political Science. MICHAEL CRONIN.

Studies in Life and Letters.

IRISH ESSAYS. By Arthur Clery. Dublin: Maunsel. 1919. 4*s.* 6*d.* net.

PROFESSOR Clery has the authentic touch of the born essayist. He is discursive. He roams from one thing to another, touching each subject lightly yet with feeling. Readers of STUDIES will not need to be told that Professor Clery is an ardent Gael. His

passion for the Gaelic pervades every essay in this little book. But his convictions do not make him *farouche* as convictions often do, nor is he limited in his sympathies. Perhaps his sense of humour saves him from these pitfalls. One surmises a sunny nature. He has a taste for the epigram and while one feels that he is hardly concentrating himself in the touch and go of these review articles and addresses to various bodies, he now and again gives us earnest of what he could do, as in the last passage of the article on Thomas Kettle, that irreparable loss to those of us who delight in Irish excellence.

> The last time I met Kettle was a few weeks after Easter Week, 1916. . . . He was driving, in military uniform, on a car with his little daughter and stopped it to speak to me. I congratulated him on his perface to *Irish Orators.* But his whole conversation was of MacDonagh and the others who had been put to death in Low Week, of the fortitude thay had shown. He felt very bitterly, and he spoke of their fate with that wistfulness which Mr. Lynd also noticed in him. I think there must have been a time in his life when he looked forward to die as they had died. He died in a different way and for a different cause. But the idea of final self-sacrifice was as much a haunting desire with him as with Patrick Pearse.

One is grateful to Mr. Clery for that testimony and that last touch with Kettle, who suffered from being "European minded" in a time when an embittered young Ireland is too apt to acknowledge only one valour and one self-sacrifice. The article on Kettle is the most appealing in the book.

Mr. Clery's judgments are often very astute, and not least so when they take the epigrammatic form, as for example :—

> A public much inclined to book making but steadily averse from book buying chills any long hope in an Irish writer and drives him inevitably to journalism. The Irishman who would write for posterity must write for export.

That is witty and true, and may be commended to many of the younger generation in Ireland whose literary development is towards criticism of the destructive kind. Professor Clery girds a good deal at England and English ways, but he is too scholarly and has too much cultivation to provoke acrimony even in those he criticises. His book has wisdom, knowledge, observation : it is soundly, honestly, Irish and Catholic and it reveals incidentally a winning personality. KATHARINE TYNAN.

IRISH BOOKS AND IRISH PEOPLE. By Stephen Gwynn. Dublin : The Talbot Press. 1919. 5*s.* net.

IRELAND badly needs a literary critic of authority, and Mr. Gwynn might step out of the hurly-burly of eternally disputed things to

the honourable and pleasant occupation of a literary critic, having the best of all possible credentials in the fact that he is himself a writer of distinction. It used to be said among writers—biassed, perhaps,—that the English literary critics were usually disappointed writers. Too many of our Irish critics are writers who have not yet begun: and too often in Ireland literary criticism is the handmaid of politics, a sturdy handmaid ready to deal a fisticuff to the writer who does not agree with her in politics or something else, The critic—who has not yet made his appearance in Ireland—the born, destined critic, should be impartial, aloof, detached, as the Muse of History herself. This volume of critical essays, honestly dated to show that they extended over a number of years and appeared in many reviews, have neither political nor religious bias. The book's the thing to Mr. Gwynn. He prefers to handle books he likes, and so the criticism is kindly, but he writes with discrimination, with observation and with the power of illuminating what he reveals. Then he is the born writer lacking whom criticism must fail to convince.

There is not a word, a phrase, in these papers which is biassed or unfair, which conveys any sense of humours, political or otherwise. He is not always concerned with a book. "The Shanachy" and "The Life of a Song" are concerned with men, such men as are only to be found in Celtic countries, scholars, poets, "makers" to use the eloquent old word. To read these charming descriptions of James Kelly and his precursor whom we only know as "Charlie" might be quite a useful reminder to some readers that Mr. Gwynn is a good Irishman. His article on Miss Edgeworth should send us all back to reading "Castle Rackrent." That on "Irish Memories," —which the contributor of the article on Irish Literature to the *Times* Irish Number the other day did not even mention—is equally understanding and equally illuminating. His estimates are very fair, just and reasonable. He is generous in his admirations. He certainly does not deal too gently with the class from which he sprung, but he never uses his criticism as a vehicle to convey any personal prejudice or personal grudge, which is, of course, covered by what I have said of him as a born critic. And he writes well; he has style; he has distinction in his writing. A Dublin daily would be well advised to secure such a critic instead of giving us the heterogeneous mass of conflicting political opinions which passes for reviewing in the Dublin press. Literature should have a benign, a humanising influence. Too often in Ireland she is the cockshy for missiles from the religious or political arena. It is restful for a while to be quiet with Literature.

KATHARINE TYNAN.

SCOTTISH LITERATURE: Character and Influence. By G. Gregory Smith. London: Macmillan. 1919. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.

This is a collection of ten essays, the scope of which is fairly indicated in the title. It is not a history, but a discussion of some of those aspects of Scottish literature which must form a part of any literary history that is to vivify and illuminate its subject, and the criticism is always in close touch with facts. Professor Smith's accurate knowledge enables him to throw Matthew Arnold and his oppressive dogmatism to the winds in a way that is certainly refreshing.

The first essay deals with two moods or characteristics—the realistic handling of details and the delight in the grotesque, uncanny, and fantastic. This latter is, of course, the "Celtic note," which is Celtic enough when found in Celtic literature, but which in Arnold's hands became a literary imperialism, anything but Celtic, for annexing whatever appeared to have the same note in other literatures. The mood of realism is illustrated largely from Middle Scots writers. They are not exactly simple reading, but Middle Scots belongs to the most characteristically national period of the literature, and Professor Smith through his other works has made ignorance of this epoch inexcusable.

There is, however, a more serious hindrance than Middle Scots vocabulary to following the author's thought. This is his extraordinary allusiveness. We are told not of Barbour and Christopher North, but of the Archdeacon of Aberdeen and the Ambrosian commentary. Thomson becomes "the expatriated Scot whose *Seasons* guided the changing taste in English poetry." Another personage is termed "scholar, researcher, bibliographer—as pleased to be Gifford lecturer as Stevenson would have been to be Professor of Constitutional History"; and yet, as we learn in a quotation from "the creator of Peter Pan," the author is merely speaking of the whimsical qualities of Andrew Lang.

The charges of provincialism, rudeness, and antiquarianism in his Scottish writers appear to be admitted by the author, for he calls his chapter dealing with these matters "Lets and Hindrances." For Burns, said Ruskin, the moon must rise over Cumnock hills; and Arnold found that the literature deals perpetually with "Scotch drink, Scotch religion, and Scotch manners." How can it be denied? Closely related to this is the charge of antiquarianism. "The Scot," says Professor Smith, "never forgets the past. It is a matter of instinct with him. He fights for his ancestors as well as for his children." This is really another example of Scotch manners. Ireland also, it seems, comes under the ban of back-

wardness—" In both the Abbey Theatre and Ulster plays everybody seems to be satisfied with a one or two-roomed cottage." Perhaps it is enough to state the charge, and to leave the refutation to those who are content to be styled provincials.

By rudeness Professor Smith means coarseness, and he is inclined to call it a protest against or relief from the conventions of literary respectability. It is true there is coarseness, and more, such as we do not find even in Chaucer. But these pages of the Professor's are the least convincing in his book, as he rules out all reference to morals ; as if morals in art as " criticism of life " were not as much a part of the artistic whole as any other human activity. And this exclusion is deliberate. In discussing Burns he finds that the ethical matters are " the proper business of prigs and all unliterary persons." This is one of the author's idiosyncracies. Another is his contempt for the worshippers of Burns, who are brushed aside as " common Burnsites," and for the enthusiastic Scot, who is set down in the " perfervid coterie."

On the other hand the author will be found to know every detail of what he is talking about—down to the famous chapter on Snakes in Iceland, which Boswell failed to give correctly. Perhaps the most attractive essay, with its curious details, is that on the Northern Augustans. Burns and Scott have each a chapter devoted to them. By his book as a whole the author has certainly justified his claim to have presented us with much new matter, and to have set the more familiar things in a new light and in fresh relationships.

E. J. Thomas.

Studies in Religion.

BENEDICTINE MONACHISM. By the Right Rev. Cuthbert Butler, Abbot of Downside Abbey. London : Longmans. 1919. 18*s.* net.

The history of Benedictine monachism (it is not really correct, though it is convenient, to speak of " the Benedictine Order ") goes hand in hand with the entire history from the fifth century onward of Christian Europe. From Bede to Bismarck, from Totila to Cardinal Gasquet, the Benedictine has been found confronting with quiet immeasurable force the powers of disorder and evil, lending vast silent increase to the forces of good, in this uneasy world where " armies clash by night " and the true effectual man of peace is a rare blessing.

This broad fact Abbot Cuthbert Butler proves in and by his

book; it also makes us wonder how he succeeded in writing the book—and so good a book. It would have been easy enough to get tangled up in details of history and controversy or to escape all these by vague pious generalities, to write dry annals and lifeless summaries or to produce five volumes instead of one. Some sense of the difficulty faced and dealt with may be felt now and again by the reader of this solid though not unwieldy tome. There is so much matter, such variety of relationships and allusions, that he may begin to feel a bit bewildered or tired. But this will be his own fault. It will be because he has not realized that he has got before him no mere made-dish to be hastily gorged, but a banquet of manifold *menu*, deserving of gradual and deliberate degustation.

Luscious metaphors may seem absurdly inappropriate in discussing a book on monks and monachism—a story and a picture of men by profession quiet and silent, delvers of the earth, copiers of manuscripts, seekers of no luxury and no renown. But the facts are not too remote from the imagery. The interest awakened by these pages is proportionate to the singular force and efficacy of the Benedictine idea throughout the centuries and to the fidelity and vividness with which it is evoked for us. What the Founder designed, what his various followers and successors made of his ideas, how they affected or were affected by the changes and growths of fourteen centuries, what they were in relation to gospel ideals, to asceticism, mysticism, civilization, social uplifting, politics, religious and secular, liturgy, art, learning,—these are the topics of which this volume treats and which cannot be treated by a capable writer without holding the interest of any worthy heir of that European culture to which monks have so inestimably contributed. And Abbot Butler is at once a scholar and a literary artist: he has mastered his facts and moves light among theories.

Having said this much, the reviewer will, perhaps, be well-advised if he leave all and each of the innumerable special matters touched on to the specialist and the specialist's full-blown articles. Yet one or two points tempt one to linger.

An expression which we read with considerable regret occurs in the course of a long quotation from a *confrère* of the author's whom he adduces with praise. The history of mystical theology in the Church is being reviewed, and on page 115 we are told:—

> [In the 16th century] the great Dominicans, following the example of St. Thomas in his *Summa*, ignored it [mystical theology]: the great Jesuits denied its very existence (as Suarez).

This, we venture to say, conveys to the ordinary reader an

utterly misleading impression. It is true only if we use words in strained and narrow meanings and ignore the real mind of the great theologians mentioned. Not only were many of them (as indeed is admitted) eminent mystics themselves, but neither St. Thomas nor Suarez, nor any genuine follower of theirs (as far as I am aware) has denied the reality, validity, nobility, of the prayer of quiet, of direct intuition, of simple affection, or of a state of the soul in which such prayer is habitual. In his comment on the Third Book of the Sentences (dist. xxxiv.) in Questions 68 and 69 of the Prima Secundae and 45 and 52 of the Secunda Secundae, in his treatment *passim* of Grace and of the Gifts of the Holy Ghost, St. Thomas covers the entire field of mystical theology, denying none of its possibilities, even that of direct vision of the Divine Essence in this life as a transient experience. The recent Eudist writer, Père Lamballe, gives us truth in a nutshell when he says that on mystical contemplation SS. Theresa, John of the Cross, Thomas and Francis de Sales "sont tous les quatre parfaitement d'accord." As for Suarez, that devout theologian does indeed put aside as "less probable" (no stronger censure) certain subtle opinions of St. Bonaventure concerning the possibility of acts of the will in the highest contemplation being elicited independently of acts of the intellect. But he shows there and elsewhere a profound comprehension and esteem of the general teaching on mysticism of the Seraphic Doctor as well as a general conformity with that of St. Thomas. None of the eminent Jesuit authorities on mystical prayer—Abbot Butler mentions them with praise—Balthasar Alvarez, Lallemant, Surin, Alvarez de Paz, Godinez, and (latterly) Poulain, show a consciousness of being in any real discord with the scholastic lights of their own Order. They assuredly did not regard these latter as mere deniers of the very existence of mystical theology.

For some readers, doubtless, the most interesting chapter among the twenty-two of this book will be this one on "Benedictine Mysticism." A far larger number may be expected to tackle "Benedictine Polity." To very many the most attractive section or element in the multifarious whole will lie in the recurring proofs that the pervading characteristic of Benedictine monarchism is essentially the spirit of reasonableness and moderation. Acknowledging the genial instinct by which Cardinal Newman had already grasped this conception, Abbot Butler shows how, with the aim of building up an ideal and school of Christian perfection free from anything "too hard or burthensome," a system elastic and adaptable, St. Benedict deliberately eliminated (or at least

carefully subdued and moderated) six leading elements of the prevalent monachism which his times were witnessing in Egypt, Syria, Gaul, and Ireland.

These elements were solitude, bodily austerity, individualism in spirituality, contemplation uninterrupted by definite work, prolonged psalmody and centralized organization. Of all these points it is the last-mentioned, of course, which has most vigorously survived into our own day; it has, in fact, lived to dominate the modern conception of religious life. It follows that no part of Abbot Butler's book will be found more engaging than the pages (they are numerous) in which he brings home to us that the centralizing spirit is not without serious drawbacks and is not necessarily or always the best ideal for the government of a religious body. He has no doubt that it is not the ideal of Benedictine polity.

The chief difficulty with which that polity has always been confronted is (it would seem) the almost unlimited power given to the Abbot—the head of each individual monastery—and the unlimited duration of his office. The difficulty is here frankly discussed: its elucidation is helped by the correlative setting-forth of the ideal of "family life" as an innate conception of Benedictinism.

The price asked for this book is rather high, but no one who has once risked the expenditure is likely to regret it. Even some silly persons, it would appear, may be recommended to face the risk; for we are told by a reviewer in *The New Statesman* that "even those who think there is no future for the monastic life will welcome this book of Abbot Butler's." G. O'N.

JESUS AND LIFE. By J. F. McFadyen, M.A. London: James Clarke. 1918. 6*s.*

The Rev. Joseph McFadyen, Professor of Economics at Nagpur in India, has written this interesting book out of an optimism which is at once refreshing and stimulating. His enthusiasm is an earnest of his sincerity. He sees in the new movement, in the awakening of a new world, in the revolt of the unprivileged classes against the privileged, a great opportunity for the spread of the gospel teaching. "In their essence," he writes, "the new movements are an insistent demand that the world shall accept Jesus' conception of the infinite significance of each human being." And later: "Jesus Christ never mastered the minds of men as He does to-day."

There is much truth in these statements; and his delight in

the truth is a proof, if any were needed, of Mr. McFadyen's genuine desire to help enquirers on their road. He is at pains to show disillusioned men that they need not despair if all their old standards have failed, for Christ touched life at every point, and they may revert to His doctrine. Christianity is a body of teaching which may be put into practice in the modern world, to the immense advantage of the world. It is not outworn ; it is the one remedy to-day.

Mr. McFadyen develops his idea in a practical spirit. He combats modern pessimism by a chapter on his view of the Providence of God ; he sets up Our Lord as a teacher, consistently living His own doctrine ; he shows in what sense Christ regards all men as equal ; he applies the tests of Christianity to marriage and divorce. There is an interesting chapter on " Pain." There is no attempt to explain away the problem of pain by an appeal to cold reason, nor to make it tolerable because of a Stoic philosophy ; but, true to the temper of the whole book, the living example of Jesus is held up before us as an appeal to personal enthusiasm. The chapter ends with a very true observation : " ' Sorrow for sorrow's sake,' is a formula which for Him would have had no meaning. In His mind the crucifixion was only one side of an experience of which the other was the Resurrection. . . . . The true symbol of Christianity is not the cross, but the cross surmounted by a crown." One feels in Mr. McFadyen's treatment of this topic the spirit which prompted Patrick Pearse to write, " We have always allowed them [the boys of St. Enda's] to feel that no one can live finely who hoards life too jealously : that one must be generous in service, and withal joyous, accounting even supreme sacrifices slight."

There are, however, in this book some instances of that reservation and hesitancy which are common enough among Protestant authors. One eye is on the gospels, the other on an audience of " protesters." So Mr. McFadyen does not know exactly where he stands when Christ speaks of angels ; and the " unquenchable fire " of Gehenna is a metaphor. There is too, here and there, evidence of hostility to the Catholic Church. But all this is what one expects, and need not prevent the educated Catholic from reading a book from which he will derive pleasure and profit. J. E. C.

LA CONVERSION. Par le R. P. Joseph Huby. Paris : Beauchesne. 1919. 1 fr. 75 (Major. 20 per cent.).

THIS reprint, in the convenient form of a booklet of 120 pages, of articles contributed to *Les Etudes* by Father Huby forms an admirable introduction to the psychology of conversion and some-

thing more. The learned Jesuit gives us much in a very small space, a sound and ample guide to the bibliography of the subject, abundant and effective quotations and narratives, shrewd analyses of the data and a very capable study of their bearings on the general question of Catholic apologetics. Here and there are touches of humour, as when he cites the phrase of a colleague à propos of the tone of certain criticisms by recent converts of their elder brethren in the Church : "The joy of the sheep that is found is no reason why it should butt the ninety-nine others."

The general view which Father Huby takes of the psychological process of conversion seems to the present reviewer a shade too intellectualist. He regards the decisive movement in the conversion-psychose rather as an illumination of the intellect by grace than as an impulse of the will. He lays more stress on the act of the intellect in the decisive assent of faith than on the movement of the intellect by the will to this assent. When we pass from the reasoned deliberate acceptance of a "view" to a formal act of faith, what happens ? Has grace enlightened the intellect, given us a new understanding, or has it reinforced the will-to-believe ? Father Huby seems to attribute much more importance to the former than to the latter.

> One thing is the string of proofs, and another the perception of their connection, the synthesis ; nor are we willing to admit that in a conversion the intellectual evolution is ended before faith begins, and that from this terminal point we pass to the adhesion of faith by a single thrust of the will, with nothing new intellectually. It may be that there is nothing new in the proofs presented as an *object* of knowledge. But the novelty is in the subject who sees clearly where before he had no full light or certitude. It is the *subject* who is charged within, he was not tuned up to the supernatural before (p. 81).

In support of this he gives interesting quotations from Mgr. Croke Robinson and Dom Bede Camm.

A little before the extract just quoted Father Huby declares :— "Whoever pronounces interiorly, with full conviction, 'The Catholic Church is divine,' has the faith." This seems an excessive statement if *fides divina* is meant. Surely it is *possible* to arrive at a firm assent to this judgment, "The Catholic Church is divine," *sine auxilio gratiae* by an act of our reason after attending (say) a suitable course of lectures ? Is it an impossible opinion to hold firmly by a merely human exercise of our reasoning faculties ?

Towards the close Father Huby criticizes Père Mainage's view of a "felt dualism" in the conversion-psychose, and there is a slight trace of the anti-mysticism of the school of Rodriguez in some of his comments. Still he does not go much further than we had occasion ourselves to do when we reviewed Père Mainage's *La Psychologie de la Conversion* (Studies, March 1916). J. F. W. H

Agriculture.

FARMING ON FACTORY LINES. By T. Wibberley. Second Edition. London: Pearson. 1919. 6*s.* net.

"I DON'T believe it," will be the comment of many of Mr. Wibberley's readers; for the alluring phrase which, in a happy moment, he selected as the title of his book will no doubt tempt many a farmer to read it, and it contains much that the ordinary farmer will not swallow, at least without a period of preliminary incredulity. The figures which Mr. Wibberley gives, for example, to shew that he could produce milk in the year 1918 at about 3½*d.* per gallon would be the occasion of a fine tourney between him and his rustic reader; as would his calculations of the cost of beef production and the various items in the balance sheets whereby he demonstrates the profitableness of his system, and so on. Many farmers will remember their own disastrous attempts to save vetch hay in the wetter parts of the country, the dislocation of their plans when the green crops for April consumption failed to mature till May, and other such *contretemps*—all calculated to confirm them in their old fashioned and (as Mr. Wibberley believes) suicidal methods.

It is certainly to be hoped that the catch phrase which Mr. Wibberley has adopted to describe his system will procure him readers among the farming community. Not necessarily because it is desirable that continuous cropping should be universally accepted, but rather because it is impossible for any farmer to read this book without benefit—even if he retains his old system unaltered. The most conservative agriculturist will get an amount of informative suggestions out of *Farming on Factory Lines*; there is no reason why the system should be regarded as a cast-iron one—it can be modified and applied to various conditions of land and climate at the discretion of the farmer; and the book has a value, if for nothing else, inasmuch as its most controversial assertions and revolutionary ideas cannot be refuted by a mere negation, but require from the person who disputes them careful attention and so stimulate agricultural thought. For this is no theoretical faddist's book: it is quite obviously the work of one who knows what he is talking about and against whom no more serious indictment can be brought than that he is over optimistic and over confident in himself. (It is not for us to say that he is either).

It is not improbable that this book will fall into the hands of a wider public than the agricultural community. Its title will no doubt catch the eye of travellers as they scan the railway bookstalls. The general reader will, however, be disappointed and will regret that he did not invest in his usual "sevenpenny" or monthly

magazine. For the book contains little of interest to the non-agriculturist beyond the first few pages of semi-autobiography—Mr. Wibberley's self-confidence is really only a delightful *naïveté* Moreover, the general reader is inclined to resent paying 6*s.* for a not very well turned out book, embellished with full page advertisements of agricultural implements and chemical manures.

E. McG. I.

Books also received:

CHAS. AUGUSTINE, O.S.B. A Commentary on the New Code of Canon Law. Vol. III. (Herder, 10*s.* 6*d.*).
H. N. BRAILSFORD ... Across the Blockade. (Allen & Unwin, 2*s.* 6*d.*).
GRENVILLE A. J. COLE ... Ireland the Outpost. (Milford, 3*s.* 6*d.*).
T. W. CRAFER ... The Epistles of St. Ignatius. (S.P.C.K., 1*s.*).
DARRELL FIGGIS ... A Second Chronicle of Jails. (Talbot Press, 1*s.* 6*d.*).
CARL RUSSELL FISH ... An Introduction to the History of American Diplomacy. (S.P.C.K., 1*s.*).
EDWARD A. FITZPATRICK Experts in City Government. (Appleton, 10*s.* 6*d.*).
MONICA M. GARDNER ... Zygmunt Krasinski. (Cambridge Univ. Press, 12*s.* 6*d.*).
JAMES HAYES ... ... Patrick H. Pearse: Storyteller. (Talbot Press, 1*s.* 6*d.*).
NICHOLAS HAYES ... In the Doctor's Den. (Talbot Press, 1*s.* 6*d.*).
D. L. KELLEHER ... The Glamour of Cork. (Talbot Press, 2*s.* 6*d.*).
"Cork's Own Town." (Talbot Press, 1*s.*).
RONALD A. KNOX ... Meditations on the Psalms. (Longmans, 3*s.* 6*d.*).
EDWARD JENKS ... The State and the Nation. (Dent, 4*s.*).
LIONEL JOHNSON ... Some Winchester Letters. (Allen & Unwin, 7*s.* 6*d.*).
W. J. LOCKINGTON, S.J. The Soul of Ireland. (Harding & More, 6*s.*).
SEUMAS MACMANUS ... Tales that were Told. (Talbot Press, 6*s.*).
PEADAR MACTOMAIS ... Songs of the Island Queen (Talbot Press, 1*s.*).
HERBERT MOORE ... The Treatise of Novatian on the Trinity. (S.P.C.K., 6*s.*).
J. SHIELD NICHOLSON ... Inflation. (King, 3*s.* 6*d.*).
SEUMAS O'BRIEN ... The Whale and the Grasshopper. (Talbot Press, 3*s.* 6*d.*).
SHAN O CUIV ... ... Fiche Duan. (Browne & Nolan, 1*s.* 6*d.*).
THOS. O'DONNELL, C.M. The Priest of To-day. His Ideals and his Duties. (Browne & Nolan, 7*s.* 6*d.*).
EIMAR O'DUFFY ... A College Chorus. (Martin Lester, 2*s.*).
SEUMAS O'KELLY ... The Leprechaun of Killmeen. (Martin Lester, 2*s.* 6*d.*).
The Golden Barque. (Talbot Press, 3*s.* 6*d.*).
CANON O'LEARY ... Cainnt na nDaoine. (Browne & Nolan, 9*d.*).
JOHN OAKESMITH ... Race and Nationality. (Heinemann, 10*s.* 6*d.*).
CHESTER E. RIGHTOR ... City Manager in Dayton. (Macmillan, $2.50).
J. M. ROBERTSON ... The Problem of "Hamlet." (Allen & Unwin, 5*s.*).
THOMAS RUSSELL ... Commercial Advertising. (Putnam, 10*s.* 6*d.*).
DESMOND RYAN ... The Man Called Pearse. (Maunsel, 4*s.* 6*d.*).
LLOYD SANDERS ... George Bubb Dodington. (Lane, 16*s.*).
ANNIE M. P. SMITHSON ... By Strange Paths. (Talbot Press, 6*s.*).
W. J. SPARROW-SIMPSON The Letters of St. Augustine. (S.P.C.K., 10*s.*).
J. H. SRAWLEY ... The Epistles of St. Ignatius. Translation. (S.P.C.K., 4*s.*).
F. C. DE SUMICHRAST ... The Making of America. (King, 6*s.*).
H. ST. J. THACKERAY ... Selections from Josephus. (S.P.C.K., 5*s.*).
HELEN WADDEL ... The Spoiled Buddha. (Talbot Press, 1*s.*).
RICHARD J. WALKER ... The Ichneutae of Sophocles. (Burns & Oates, £3 3*s.*).
J. HERBERT WILLIAMS ... Inspiration. (Sands, 5*s.*).
NORWOOD YOUNG ... The Life of Frederick the Great. (Constable, 21*s.*).
A Guide to Social Students. (Catholic Social Guild, 1*s.*).
GEORGES DEHERME ... Le Nombre et l'Opinion publique. (Grasset, 4 fr 55).
RENE JOHANNET ... Le Principe des Nationalités. (Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 12 fr.).
EDGARD MILHAUD ... La Marche au Socialisme. (Grasset, 5 fr.).
PROBUS ... ... Rénovation. Le Plan du Syndicat des Français. (Grasset, 5 fr.).

(*The prices of all books in this list are net.*)

University College,
DUBLIN.

A Constituent College of The National University of Ireland.

SESSION, 1919-20.

THE College provides Courses for the Degrees of the National University of Ireland in the Faculties of Arts, Philosophy, Celtic Studies, Science, Law Medicine, Engineering and Architecture, and Commerce.

The following Regulations for the College Courses, etc., may be obtained on application :—

1. General Regulations, Scholarships, Fees.
2. Courses for Degrees in Arts, Philosophy, Celtic Studies.
3. Courses for Degrees in Science.
4. Courses for Degrees in Law.
5. Courses for Degrees in Medicine and Dentistry.
6. Courses for Degrees in Engineering and Architecture.
7. Courses for Degrees in Commerce.

College Scholarships and Prizes to the value of about £3,500 (not including Scholarships provided by the Corporation of Dublin and by the County Councils) are open to competition amongst Student-Members of the College.

Letters in reference to Courses of Study should be addressed to the Registrar of the College, Earlsfort Terrace, or to the Medical School, Cecilia Street. All Students' Fees due to the College are to be paid to the SECRETARY, University College, Dublin.

The College Offices at Earlsfort Terrace and in the Medical School, Cecilia Street, are open daily.

Telegrams—"HOSIERY, DUBLIN." Telephone No. 1292.

KENNEDY & McSHARRY

Shirt Makers, Hosiers, Hatters and General Outfitters, :: ::

24 WESTMORELAND STREET, —— And 3 D'OLIER STREET, DUBLIN.

· · FINEST · ·

SMOKING MIXTURES.

NO CHANGE IN . . .

PRE-WAR QUALITY.

JOHN LEASK,

SUCCESSOR TO

GEORGE MITCHELL, Ltd.,

Wine and Cigar Merchants,

9 D'OLIER STREET, DUBLIN.

Telegrams: "MITCHELL, DUBLIN." Telephone 554.

——FOR HIGH-CLASS——

Cigars, Cigarettes, Fancy Tobaccos, Briar Pipes, and other Smokers' Requisites—

JOHN PURCELL, LTD., DUBLIN.

Head Office: 16 NORTH EARL STREET.

Branches through the City.

Telephone 1938. Telegrams: "PURCELL, DUBLIN."

You will find it economical to place your orders for

HARDWARE AND IRONMONGERY

with us. We carry a large stock of **Cutlery, Household Utensils, Garden Tools,** and **Builders' Ironmongery.** Quality and price right.

GLEESON, O'DEA & CO., LTD.,

21 & 22 CHRISTCHURCH PLACE, DUBLIN. Telephone: Dublin, 261.

TODD, BURNS & CO.

LIMITED.

High-Class TAILORING

TO ORDER.

SUITS and OVERCOATS

READY TO WEAR.

Gentlemen's OUTFITTING

IN ALL REQUIREMENTS.

Furniture, Carpets, Linoleums

IN BEST QUALITIES.

MARY STREET, DUBLIN.

BEST HOUSE COALS. BEST GAS COKE.

Dublin General Steam Shipping Co.

Limited,

COAL IMPORTERS,

18 D'OLIER STREET, DUBLIN.

Telephone 336 and 402. Telegrams: "WALLSEND," DUBLIN

PLUMBING, HEATING, DRAINAGE.

First Class Work and Personal Supervision.

H. A. O'NEIL,

3 CHELTENHAM PLACE, PORTOBELLO BRIDGE, DUBLIN.

'Phone, Rathmines 486.

MOTOR CYCLES

MANTHORPE & CO.,

The Motor Cycle Specialists,

Sole Agents for **Matchless, Bradbury, Scott, Ariel and Elswick Motor Cycles.**

The largest dealers in Motor Cycles in Ireland. Large expert Staff for repairs to all makes (under personal supervision). Best paid Mechanics in the trade. Large stock of Accessories and spare parts.

Manthorpe & Co.

193 Gt. Brunswick St., DUBLIN.

Telephone 3853.

Telegrams: "WATT, DUBLIN." **Telephone: 4268 DUBLIN.**

GEORGE WATT, LTD.

Engineers and Millwrights,

Soho Works, Bridgefoot Street,

DUBLIN.

Estimates given for Repair and Supply for all Classes of Machinery.

Clerical Tailors.

CLERY'S DUBLIN

Complete Outfitters.

Our Cutters are Specialists in CLERICAL TAILORING.

COLLARS, SHIRTS, UNDERWEAR, STOCKS, HATS, BOOTS, CUFFS, GLOVES, BAGS, &c. : : : :
Sole Agents for the "GLOBE-WERNECKE" BOOKCASES.

ILLUSTRATED CLERICAL LIST ON REQUEST.

CLERY & CO., LTD., DUBLIN.

Vestments and Banners

As a result of the Great War and consequent difficulty of securing Vestment Embroideries from the Continent, we have installed Three New Machines, driven by electricity, and have skilled operators executing most elaborate and elegant Embroidery, equal both in workmanship and price to those heretofore imported from the Continent.

We are anxious for your kind patronage, as we are specialists in Vestments and all materials connected with same.

We will at all times be pleased to submit on approbation, post free, a selection of Vestments, Ornaments, Braids, Fringes and Silks, of which we always carry a large and varied stock.

C. BULL, LTD., 21 Suffolk St., DUBLIN.

KENNEDY'S BREAD

FINEST QUALITY
· · · MADE · · ·

BAKERIES:

124 to 130 GREAT BRITAIN STREET

—— AND ——

ST. PATRICK'S BAKERY · DUBLIN.

AN ALARMING WATCH

Not a Toy, but a most Reliable Timekeeper.
Can be Set like an Alarm Clock. Rings
Loudly. Luminous Hands and Figures.
The Ideal Clerical Watch. :: :: :: :: ::

. . Excellent Value at £7 . .

GANTER BROS., 63 SOUTH GREAT GEORGE'S ST., DUBLIN.

MUSGRAVE'S
Heating & Ventilating
SPECIALITIES

For Churches, Schools, Public Buildings & Residences.

HOT WATER.—Low Pressure Systems, with Pipes. Ventilating and Non-Ventilating Radiators. Accelerated Circulations (no power required). Small Pipe System. Medium Pressure.

STEAM.—High and Low Pressure. Gravity Return. Exhaust Steam. Atmospheric Vapour.

WARM AIR.—Musgrave's Imperial Heaters. Ventilating Air Warmers. Slow Combustion Ventilating Stoves. Open Fire Ventilating Hospital Stoves.

SUCCESS GUARANTEED.

Experienced persons sent to advise anywhere.

—— Drawings and Estimates submitted. ——

MUSGRAVE & CO., LTD.,

ST. ANN'S IRON WORKS, BELFAST.

42 Deansgate, Manchester; Sardinia House, Kingsway, London, S.W.; 24 Queen Street, Cardiff.

By Royal Warrant
To His Majesty King George V.
To His Late Majesty King Edward VII.

By Special Appointment
To His Excellency The Lord Lieutenant,
And the Officers' Messes throughout
Ireland.

McDONOGH & CO.,

VICTUALLERS,

11 & 12 CHATHAM STREET, DUBLIN.

Telephones: 1175 and 4634. Telegrams: "McDonogh, Chatham St., Dublin."

ESTABLISHED 1824.

Thomas, William AND John **Kelly,** **Dublin.**

89, LOWER GARDINER STREET.

Offices: 1 & 2, WESTMORELAND STREET, DUBLIN

(NEXT BANK OF IRELAND).

We respectfully solicit from the HIERARCHY and CLERGY a continuance of their valued patronage for the

Pure Altar Wine,

imported by us for the use of the Altar, and which we have for three generations supplied throughout Ireland, England, and the Colonies.

Price per dozen (Bottles and Carriage included) on application.

2/- per dozen allowed for Altar Wine Bottles when returned in good condition, carriage paid.

In other WINES we hold a large and well-assorted stock, together with the finest SPIRITS, both home and foreign. Lists on application.

As advertisements frequently appear which are likely to confuse our names with those of other firms, intending purchasers should make inquiries as to the addresses and identity of the firms with whom they are dealing.

Telephone 1612. **Telegrams: "Threekays, Dublin."**

1st March, 1917.

ASK FOR——

RATHBORNE'S . . . .

ALTAR CANDLES

THE IRISH

Reg. No. 0379.
TRADE MARK.

Guaranteed and Stamped

75%, 65% & 25% GENUINE BEESWAX.

SANCTIONED BY THE HIERARCHY.

Irish Bleached Beeswax. Sanctuary and Burning Colza Oils.

Manufactured by . . . **JOHN G. RATHBORNE, LTD.,** [Established A.D. 1488.

Candle Manufacturers, Oil Refiners, Wax Bleachers, &c.,

PHŒNIX CANDLE WORKS and 203 PARNELL ST., DUBLIN.

· The I.A.W.S. ·
Came of Age last Year.

WHAT THE I.A.W.S. IS!

The Irish Agricultural Wholesale Society is a Federation of Irish Co-operative Societies. It is financed, owned and controlled by Co-operative Societies. Its Directors are elected and its policy controlled by them. Founded in 1897 by a few societies, it has to-day the strength of the Irish co-operative movement behind it. It is a co-operative society owned and directed by co-operators.

WHAT THE I.A.W.S. DOES!

The Wholesale Society was established to undertake the wholesale trading of the Irish Co-operative Movement. Twenty-one years ago its sales amounted to £14,500. Last year its sales approximated to £1,000,000. **All the business of the co-operative movement can be done by the Wholesale Society. BANKING, AGRICULTURAL and DOMESTIC SUPPLIES, DAIRY, AGRICULTURAL and MILLING ENGINEERING.** Ask the Wholesale to quote for your requirements.

WHAT THE I.A.W.S. CAN DO!

By organising trade and finance the Wholesale Society is in a position to aid, as no other organisation in the country can aid, the industrial development of our country. Our industries can be developed and controlled co-operatively. In this all can help by joining a Co-operative Society.

SCHOOLS, COLLEGES AND COMMUNITIES CATERED FOR.
ASK FOR QUOTATIONS and PRICE LISTS.

Irish Agricultural Wholesale Society, Ltd.

Head Offices and Bank:

151 THOMAS STREET, DUBLIN.

Telegrams: "PRODUCE, DUBLIN." **Telephones: Dublin 1432 & 3666.**

ROYAL

WARRANT.

Telegrams: "Poultry, Dublin." "McCabes, Bray." "McCabes, Curragh Camp."
Telephones: Dublin, 2481 (Three Lines). Bray, 22, Curragh, 7.

McCABES,

His Majesty's Fishmongers and Poulterers.

Fresh Daily Arrivals. Choicest Quality.
Fish, Poultry and Game, as in Season.

SOUTH CITY MARKETS, 11 RATHGAR ROAD,
48 UPPER BAGGOT ST., DUBLIN. And Branches.

HOUSE DECORATION

IN TOWN AND COUNTRY.

Private Residences Inspected and Tenders furnished Free of Charge

FOR . . . .

PAINTING, DECORATING, PLUMBING, ELECTRIC LIGHTING, & REPAIRING THROUGHOUT.

THOS. DOCKRELL SONS & CO., LTD.,

South Great George's Street, DUBLIN.

Telephone No. 3330 (4 lines) and private exchange.

WE are now OPEN TO ACCEPT ORDERS for

"LEANDER" MARGARINE.

But we would advise Customers NOT TO STOCK MORE THAN ONE WEEK'S SUPPLY.

TERMS NET. CASH WITH ORDER. WHOLESALE ONLY.

DOWDALL, O'MAHONEY & CO., LTD.,

"LEANDER" WORKS, CORK.

A Bicycle to be Relied on.

THE LUCANIA

will give you good service under all conditions

LISTS POST FREE.

JOHN O'NEILL, South King Street,
AND LUCANIA WORKS, PLEASANTS STREET, DUBLIN.

'Phone 3716 and 3717. Telegrams: "LUCANIA, DUBLIN."

AGENTS ALL OVER IRELAND.

"CALLOX"

IS THE REGISTERED NAME OF THE WONDERFUL NEW DOUBLE WEAR WATERPROOF

CHROME SOLE LEATHER

Made by E. O'CALLAGHAN & SON, LIMITED,
CORK, LIMERICK and BELFAST.

Easy on the Foot—Hard to Wear Out. Light for Ladies—Stout for Men.
Every Sole Stamped "CALLOX."

THE LEATHER FOR CHILDREN, GOLFERS, SPORTSMEN, FARMERS, LABOURERS—in a word, the Leather for Hard Wear and Outdoor Occupations.

IF YOU ONCE TRY IT, YOU WILL NEVER WEAR ANYTHING ELSE.

The Leather World, February 22, 1917, says:—"It is rather difficult to accurately gauge the progress chrome sole is making in popularity, but, as far as our observation goes, it is certainly in the ascendancy. Quite recently we heard a banking friend say he had sent his boots some distance away to be chrome soled, as he had found by experience the wear was twice as good as that of ordinary leather. This was quite a bona-fide testimonial, as obviously our informant had no axe to grind either way."

Sole Agent: E. J. LONG, 16 Capel St. and 5 Upper Stephen St., DUBLIN.

PRINTED BY SEALY, BRYERS & WALKER, DUBLIN.